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Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 7 (1917), pp. 229-283

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

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STUDIES IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE GALATIA.

By W. M. RAMSAY.

I. THE HOMANADEIS AND THE HOMANADENSIAN WAR.

In this *Journal*, 1916, p. 96, where, in the orderly execution of a systematic study of Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch), an account of the Homanadensian¹ war would have been in place, this was omitted on the ground that 'the account which Cheesman² has given in the *Journal*, 1913, p. 253 ff. of the leader of the colony in war and peace may be regarded as the execution of my plan at this point.' In re-reading his article, however, I observe that it is devoted mainly to Caristanius himself and his family rather than to the Homanadensian war, for his subject is 'The family of the Caristanii.' With practically all that he says in his brief references to the war I agree; they show his opinion of that date and the general situation; but they do not constitute an account of the war (so far as this can be recovered), for that did not lie within his plan. It is therefore not without value to give here a consecutive account of the war, the circumstances which led to its outbreak, and the issue, together with a brief description of the land and the people (supplementary to what is said in *H.G.A.M.* p. 335, etc.).

There is probably no war which in itself is of quite secondary importance that is connected with so many and so vital questions of historical interest as this Homanadensian war. This will appear in the sequel of the present article. The very name of the general in command, viz. Quirinius, brings up all the tangled and difficult questions that arise out of the historical allusion to him in the Gospel of Luke ii. 2. The literature bearing on that allusion is enormous in extent and extraordinary in respect of the difference of opinion among scholars of high standing. Whether Quirinius ever governed Syria before the death of Herod the king in 4 b.c. is in itself a vital question to the accuracy of the third Gospel. It has been maintained by some that Quirinius governed Syria only once, viz. 6-8 A.D. It has been maintained by others that he governed Syria twice, but that even his first governorship was after the death of Herod. We set aside other questions entirely, and study the war for its own sake, from the evidence bearing on it directly and alone. This

¹ On the spelling see p. 264. The common spelling *Homon-* is taken from Strabo and Tacitus *Ann.* iii, 48 and the older published texts of Pliny v. 94 (based on conjectural emendations).

² The premature death of Lieut. G. L. Cheesman at the Dardanelles was a grave loss to Roman historical study and to the investigation of Anatolian antiquities.

evidence points to a definite conclusion, and I think will establish beyond reach of question that Quirinius was governing Syria for some years between 12-6 B.C. This conclusion cannot be evaded nor disputed. It forms a definite historical basis on which the Lukan questions must be treated in future.

I shall have occasion in the following article to refer most frequently to Cheesman in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 250 ff: also to an article by myself on 'Pisidia and the Lycaonian Frontier' in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1902-1903, pp. 243-273, which is quoted briefly as 'Pisidia-Lycaonia'; and to another article by myself on 'Lycaonia' in the *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Instituts*, 1904, pp. 57-132: also to various essays in *Studies in the Art and History of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (especially Miss Ramsay on Isaurian and Phrygian Art, pp. 1-97). Moreover, religion underlies all action in Anatolia, often taking strange outward forms (e.g. the divinity of the sovereign), as described in the general articles 'Religion of Asia Minor' in Hastings' *Dict. Bib.* v, pp. 109-56; 'Phrygians' in Hastings' *Dict. of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ix, pp. 900-11; also 'Religious Antiquities in Asia Minor,' *Annual* 1911-2, p. 37 ff, and *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 130-68. These articles and others are constantly in my mind (especially Anderson in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 270).

§1. *The Causes and Method of the War.*—The war has been treated always as an episode in the history of the province Syria, so far as any one has treated it at all.¹ It is true that the war was fought under the command of the governor of Syria, because there alone in the East existed an army available for this purpose; but the operations had to be conducted mainly from the Galatic province² because the Homanadeis were situated on the northern ridge of Taurus and constituted a danger to the southern part of the latter province; and they were practically inaccessible to an army operating from the sea and from Cilicia or Syria direct. Therein lay part of the gravity of the problem. The combination of effort on the part of two different provinces was necessary, and it was naturally very difficult to secure the hearty co-operation of two governors entirely independent of each other, and both looking to Rome as the seat from which orders should emanate. The success with which evidently this combination was achieved is one of the remarkable feats of imperial administration. Some credit for it must be given to the management of Augustus Caesar himself; and the general in supreme command of the military operations, P. Sulpicius

¹ Chiefly Mommsen, *Res Gestae D. Aug.* pp. 161 ff, Cheesman, *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 252 f; also the numerous disputants about Quirinius, governor of Syria, Luke ii, incidentally mention the war.

² I call the province sometimes by the Roman name Galatia, sometimes according to the oldest Greek usage Galatic (*C.I.G.* iii, 4001, A.D. 54, and *Acts of Apostles*, xvi, 6, xviii, 23, about A.D. 51-55).

Quirinius, legate of the province Syria, must have shown also great skill in securing cordial union with the troops and governor of the province Galatia. In the latter province (which was praetorian) there were no legions, but only auxiliaries: the peculiar circumstances, however, of Galatia, and the danger both on its southern frontier and also on the east and north-east, where it adjoined client kingdoms that were far from being absolutely trustworthy and peaceful, must have required at that period the maintenance of more numerous auxiliary troops than was later the case (see below § 5).

It is therefore necessary to seek for further evidence as to the operations of the war, not from the side of Cilicia and Syria, where nothing has been found and little can be hoped for, but from the side of Galatia. The geographical and general conditions which must have governed the operations are to be studied from the north. Epigraphic monuments bearing more or less directly on the war have been gradually accumulating in research along the Taurus frontier of South Galatia from the year 1886 onwards. The conduct of this war therefore rightly forms a part of these 'Galatic Studies.'

The war centres in the personality of P. Sulpicius Quirinius, and the chronology turns on the date of his first governorship of Syria.¹ That important office was as a rule not the first provincial command held by a consul on vacating office: it was, however, entrusted to Quirinius immediately after his consulship,² and the reasons are stated in the following pages. Briefly stated, our view is that the consulship was conferred on this *novus homo* Quirinius for the purpose of qualifying him to govern Syria and its legions, being really the first step in the complicated problem of arranging the many factors of co-operation required in the successful conduct of the war. Cheesman perceived the right date, and all his brief references to the operations were deduced in orderly sequence therefrom.

In general, with regard to the date of the war, Cheesman expresses exactly the origin of some difficulties that have been found. On p. 257 he says that he will 'prefer therefore to date Quirinius's government by the war rather than (with Mommsen) to date the war by Quirinius's government.' At the time when Mommsen wrote, viz. in 1883, no evidence whatsoever was known bearing on the war, except the scanty accounts given by Strabo and Tacitus and the brief reference (almost entirely restored) in the fragmentary inscription which Mommsen rightly interprets as a piece of the *cursus honorum* of Publius Sulpicius Quirinius—a fragment which is commonly called the Tiburtine. Mommsen's problem, therefore, was to work from the little known to the less known; something very

¹ Syria, of course, was always a consular province, governed by a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of consular rank: Galatia was a praetorian province, under a *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of praetorian rank.

² Mommsen was naturally inclined to place a considerable interval between the consulship and the governorship: that keeps the *cursus honorum* of Quirinius closer to the usual order and sequence. It is the rare exceptional cases that cause difficulty.

inadequate was known about Quirinius, very much less was known about the war which constituted his greatest title to memory in the world's history, and the only way possible in 1883 was to base all speculations about the war on the career of the general. Since that time evidence about the war has accumulated through a series of inscriptions found in the country adjoining the scene of operations: most of these do not even mention Quirinius, and the two most important pieces of evidence name him, not as general in command of the war, but merely as duumvir of Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch), an office which arose out of his position as commander-in-chief.

About 27 to 25 B.C. king Amyntas attempted to subdue this mountain tribe, whose territory consisted of part of the summit and the northern slopes and foothills of the great lofty and broad plateau which is generally called Mount Taurus, in the region that lies south and south-east from Antioch, or Colonia Caesarea. Even although the precise bounds of the tribe cannot be drawn, the general situation is quite certain, and that is sufficient for present purposes. This tribe, closely akin to the Lycaonians and the Cilicians (as we shall see towards the conclusion of this article, where Strabo's evidence is evaluated), was in the habit of raiding and preying on the region of southern Phrygia, the undulating or even hilly country, interspersed with level and fertile plains about 3,000 to 3,500 feet above the sea, which is called by Ptolemy Pisidian Phrygia, and by Strabo Phrygia-towards-Pisidia. The boundaries between Phrygia and Pisidia are impossible to draw with exact accuracy. The Phrygian incursion and conquest of the country, possibly somewhere about 900 B.C., penetrated at first further than it was able to maintain itself. The original rush of the invading tribe carried it far to the south, and in subsequent events there was a reaction from the side of the Taurus mountaineers, which produced a sort of 'Debatable Land' and an extremely irregular frontier.¹ Those parts of this 'Debatable Land' which were most hilly tended to become outposts of the mountaineers, while the level region was more markedly Phrygian. The Phrygians became in time much more open to Hellenisation than the mountain tribes, and more and more the question came to take the form of a struggle between the purely ancient fashion of the Pisidian population and some form of approximation to Hellenism with more openness to Hellenising influences in the people of the plains,² who were much less warlike and more exposed to conquest and foreign domination than the Homanadensian mountaineers.

¹ On this 'Debatable Land' see *J.H.S.* 1918, pp. 142-152.

² This must not be exaggerated: the south Phrygians continued (except in the cities) to be organised after the village fashion of Anatolia,

as the subjects of the god Mén-Mannes (*J.H.S.* 1918, pp. 148 ff), not as free men, and to use the Phrygian language, until well on in the Roman period. Yet, compared to the Pisidian robber tribes, they were more affected by new 'modern' fashion, which tended to be Hellenising.

The same raiding tendency characterised much of the north-Pisidian population of the western Taurus region, extending from the borders of the Homanadenses to some point where a Lycian or a Kabalian population replaced the Pisidian. Naturally, the population of certain half-Hellenised Pisidian cities like Selge must not be regarded as being of the same primitive character as the robber tribes who raided the plains of south Phrygia, Homanadenses, Isaurians, and Pisidians; but though they had something of the Hellenistic city organisation and their states are called *Poleis* by Strabo¹ (who is very discriminating in his use of the term), yet they ranked rather as anti-Hellenistic in the eyes of the Roman imperial government.

How far there was any racial affinity between Pisidians and Lycians and Kabaleis is entirely unknown. Similarly it is almost equally unknown whether or not there was any racial affinity between Pisidians and Homanadenses. All that we can say is that Strabo, as we shall see below, pointedly distinguishes the Cilico-Lycaonian Homanadenses from the Pisidians of Hetenna, Katenna, Selge and the west.

Such was the general character of the situation on the northern flanks of the vast Taurus region. Taurus is commonly spoken of as a mountain ridge, but this is false. It is a lofty, broad, very much broken plateau, elevated frequently to a height of 7,000 feet or more (decreasing towards the west), but much broken by watercourses and containing various rivers of considerable importance, chief among them the Kalykadnos. The last-named river especially runs in a very deep cañon, and the scenery on the middle and upper Kalykadnos in both its branches is extraordinarily picturesque and remarkable. You can stand near the edge of the cañon and look straight across to the high ground on the other side; and yet a new traveller, only a little way back from the edge, may be entirely unaware of the immense chasm that separates him from an apparently neighbouring point on the opposite side.² Tributary streams run in similar cañons and make a country which is extremely difficult to traverse even for a single traveller, much more for an army. There are also numerous peaks and ridges, as e.g. the long line of Bulgar-Dagh, over 9,000 feet, stretching west from the road

¹ It is true that in xii, 7, 2, Strabo quotes the term *Poleis* from Artemidoros, who was certainly not so precise in using this term with reference to organisation; but in §3 Strabo himself describes Selge distinctly as a *Polis*, and distinguishes it from the mountain Pisidians who are ruled by a series of tyrannoi (tribal chiefs?) and who are all brigands. That Selge was founded by Lacedaemonians, as Strabo mentions, is based on some Hellenistic invention of origin. More trustworthy is the older foundation by Kalchas, which he also mentions. The latter points to an Old-Ionian

origin. Strabo also calls Sagalassos (Selgêssos) a *polis*: so that Hellenistic system was spread in his time over parts of Pisidia, and the number of autonomous *poleis* of that type steadily increased in the Roman period.

² I shall not easily forget this impression. Coming from north-east, I felt giddy as if I were suddenly looking down a perpendicular precipice; and riding down the steep descent I felt as if horse and rider were likely to fall off. There was, of course, not the smallest danger, unless a young horse takes fright (as happened to me in 1913).

leading from the plateau to the Cilician Gates, that great historic road of commerce and war, the Allah-Dagh in the Isaurican and Homanadensian region; both of these stretch east and west. There are also various other similar lofty ridges, generally masses of bare rock, running north and south, such as, e.g. Dip-Davras¹ along the west side of lake Karalis (whose name contains an apparent survival of the ancient term Taurus), Ala Dag, etc.; and several other ridges run in this way athwart the so-called general direction of Mount Taurus, which is from east to west: yet when one remembers that Taurus is really not a mountain ridge, the fallacy of describing it as running east and west is apparent. It is in truth a lofty elongated plateau very much disintegrated and broken.² The population of a country like this, Isaurians, Cilicians, Homanadensians and Pisidians, were necessarily active, energetic and warlike. Considerable part of their country lies at such an elevation that the weather is extremely inclement, snow lies deep for months, as Sterrett describes it, and travellers have to encounter many difficulties in traversing it, the result being that it has never been properly examined.³ Military operations were inevitably difficult and tedious in face of a determined resistance. A small force could move more rapidly, but was totally insufficient for the task (as Amyntas had proved by failure and death). Overwhelming power had to be employed, and careful preparation for the operations was necessary.

Amyntas, king of Galatia, the successor of Deiotaros, in attempting to consolidate the southern part of his realm, which was supposed to consist of Phrygian Pisidia with as much of Lycaonia and western Cilicia and Pisidia proper as he could seize, was taken prisoner and killed by the Homanadenses, and his army sustained a crushing defeat, in 25 B.C. According to his testament, which (as there is no reason to doubt) must be reckoned an historic document⁴ and not a mere pretence or a forgery, he constituted the emperor Augustus his heir.⁵ It is by no means improbable that this testament was made in accordance with the conditions on which he held

¹ It is called Dipoiras in Kiepert's map, but the natives whom I questioned did not know this name; poiras is the common term for 'north' (evidently Boreas in Turkish pronunciation), and Dipoiras is probably due to popular etymology. Geological expert study of Taurus is much needed.

² Apart from volcanic action, the chief agent in producing these cañons and ridges in the limestone plateau seems to be flowing water.

³ Something has been done by Sterrett, and, as it is believed, by a very well-equipped Austrian expedition, which travelled through part of the country in 1902, but which has never published any account of its results and explorations (except a small *Vorläufiger Bericht*). See the detailed account below in § 4.

⁴ Like the similar testament of the last Pergamenean king Attalus III.

⁵ [Public law is definite. Vassal kings were vassal, entirely dependent, and *in fide populi Romani*, i.e. *dediti*. The emperor appointed the vassal king, and fixed the terms, and terminated the appointment as he chose. Such had been the legal position (allowing for change from republican forms) since the second century B.C. In public law there was no question of accepting an inheritance: Augustus took back what had belonged to him, but had been handed over for a time to a more suitable person to look after: Anderson: see his illuminative article in *J.H.S.* 1910, p. 181 f]. The 'inheritance' was, in a sense, 'polite camouflage'; but, as I think, importance was attached by Augustus to those religious fictions, and the bare naked facts were glossed over by such means. That was a feature of his policy, alike in Rome and in the East.

his monarchy; as to this analogous cases exist.¹ It is, moreover, evident that, in respect of such client states and client kings, Augustus imposed very strict conditions, and that the countries in question were in a rough way reckoned as part of the Roman world. Now according to Roman religion and law an heir was bound to accept all the debts, responsibilities and duties of the deceased, who had bequeathed to him the property, if he accepted the inheritance. It was a religious duty for Augustus to avenge the death of Amyntas. Law, custom and religion indeed allowed the heir free choice: he might refuse the inheritance; but, once he accepted it, his duty was plain and unavoidable. In 25 B.C. however, and in the following years, the task of a war against the Homanadenses was too great to be undertaken. The Roman empire was still too disturbed; a great deal was necessary in the way of general organisation of most of the provinces, and even of Italy, before the empire could be so consolidated as to undertake a war which was evidently by no means easy. Augustus, therefore, contented himself for the time with doing what was reasonably possible to make secure the Phrygian plains, viz. by founding the garrison colony Caesarea; and he postponed the task of punishing the murderers of the deceased Amyntas to a more convenient season. To postpone, however, did not mean that the duty was abandoned; and, as the empire was gradually brought into a settled and orderly condition, this duty became more definitely incumbent on the emperor. At last about 13 B.C. the time seemed to have arrived. The duty of the heir could not be longer postponed. Religion and custom demanded the punishment of the murderers of Amyntas. No more favourable opportunity was likely to occur. Peace and order were in sight. Augustus was still active and vigorous, barely fifty years of age. Any person who argues that the Homanadensian War was postponed later has the onus of proof to bear.²

Even taken alone, these general considerations are sufficient to throw doubt on the chronological system of Mommsen, which was put forward by him as purely hypothetical, and which (as I know) he considered to be shaken by the dates discovered on the milestones of the Viae Sebastai; though growing age and the natural wish to wait for more complete evidence, combined with the immense

¹ The succession of Herod the Great's kingdom was subject to the sanction of Augustus: see Josephus *Ant.* xvii, 3, 2 (§ 53), and 8, 2 (§ 195). This shows how strictly Augustus provided for the succession in the client kingdoms; see also *Christ Born in Bethlehem*, p. 184. Practically the choice open to Augustus was to rule Galatia himself, or to hand it over to some new client king.

² [L. Calpurnius Piso, cos. 15 B.C., the able soldier who conquered Thrace, 13-11 B.C., was called in from Pamphylia: Dio says Παμφυλίας ἡρχε. Was he, as usually supposed, governor

of Syria? In that case his presence in Pamphylia might be connected with preparations for the Homanadensian war, interrupted by the Thracian crisis and resumed by Quirinius. A man of his rank could not be mere governor of Pamphylia, as Klebs makes him *Prosop.* 249. The relation of Piso to the proposed war would be equally probable, even if he were not governor of Syria, but sent on a special mission: Anderson]. This is convincing. The war was imminent in 13 B.C. Piso planned to attack from Pamphylia, which was a bad line.

weight of other pressing historical work, prevented him from revising the chronology that he had proposed. Now the needed additional evidence has been discovered; and the fame of P. Sulpicius Quirinius is established on the Galatic side of Taurus as firmly as on the Syrian side. The war was fought from both sides, but was pressed most actively on the north from Colonia Caesarea.

Augustus, then, judging that the time was now come to chastise the offending tribe in the interest of imperial peace and avenge the death of the king who had bequeathed to him a kingdom, sought out an officer suited to conduct the war. He selected Quirinius, a man of humble birth,¹ who had fought his way upwards and made a career by sheer merit. Quirinius was a typical Roman officer of a common sort, capable, energetic, able to use troops well, but showing no signs of genius: he had also the typical Roman faults of hardness, sternness, and even cruelty. His previous career marked him out for a difficult enterprise; and his chief success hitherto had been in Cyrene, where he subdued the dangerous desert tribes—the same that caused such difficulty to the Italian army in modern times when it attempted to conquer the Tripolitan region.² That Cyrenaic campaign had been carried out in so efficient a way as to recommend the successful general for further promotion: it probably was conducted when he was serving as proconsul of Crete and Cyrene (according to Mommsen's practically certain conjecture).³ The new campaign (as Mommsen has shown, and as is stated above) could be carried out only from the province of Syria, i.e. by the emperor's *legatus* commanding the province. Syria⁴ was the only eastern province with an army sufficient for such a war: Galatia, which adjoined the tribe of the Homanadeis on the north, contained only auxiliary troops. The province of Syria at that time seems to have included Cilicia, at least the plain which was the most fertile part of that country; though some of the hill districts of Cilicia with many of the mountain regions in Amanus and Taurus were not yet incorporated in any Roman province. In a sense the province of Syria adjoined the territory of the Homanadeis, because any intermediate regions were subject to client kings or princes, and in a wide view such regions formed part of the Roman empire, because the Roman protection was in a sense extended to them and the shadow of Roman rule was already over them.⁵ They were

¹ *Obscurissima domus*, Tac. *Ann.* iii, 23.

² The same difficulties confronted Quirinius in ancient and the Italians in modern time, viz. the desert, the want of water, the warlike, predatory character of the inhabitants, and their skill in sudden attack and in eluding pursuit.

³ See his commentary on *Monumentum Ancyranum*, 2nd edition, p. 170 f.

⁴ A special expedition with a fresh army transported across the sea, such as that of Pompey in

the East, is wholly contrary to imperial policy. The provincial armies were there for all wars. A special command would not have been granted by Augustus to one of such humble standing.

⁵ Beyond a doubt the governor of the nearest province was charged to keep an eye on each client state, though he did not interfere except in urgent need (as took place with the Kietai, falsely Clitae in modern texts and writers, Tac. *Ann.* vi, 41, xii, 55: they were subject to the client king Archelaos.)

inhabited, as Strabo, p. 840 says, by peoples who were not yet educated up to the standard of Roman organisation, and it was a temporary expedient to put them under the care of princes or kings who should exercise a more immediate authority over them and should gradually train them up to the level required in a Roman province.¹

Quirinius then was selected by Augustus for the consulate in the year 12 B.C. and held office for the first seven months of the year, being succeeded on 1st August by Volusius Saturninus. He went to command Syria either in the early summer of 11 B.C. or the autumn of 12. The contrast with Saturninus in respect of this province is noteworthy: the latter did not govern Syria until A.D. 4-5.

§2. *The Date and Duration of the War.*—At the point when the consulship of Quirinius ended in July 12 B.C. the recorded chronology deserts us, and there is no sure date in his career until A.D. 6-8, when he governed Syria for the second time.² In the interval between his consulship and his second government of Syria he conducted the war against the Homanadenses, governed the province of Asia as proconsul, and accompanied Gaius Caesar, the grandson of Augustus, to the East as his experienced guide and tutor. It is not quite certain whether Quirinius preceded or followed Lollius in the last duty: Mommsen considers that he was sent as the successor of Lollius (who died in A.D. 2); but Zumpt has maintained that Quirinius preceded Lollius and went to Armenia with Gaius Caesar in 1 B.C. While Mommsen is probably right, the evidence is not fully convincing.³ The exact dates when the war began and ended are hypothetical, but the general course of the operations can be described with approximate certainty, and it is absolutely certain that the war had ceased, and the organisation of the Taurus region in general had begun to be arranged, in 6 B.C. This is established by a series of milestones and colonial foundations,⁴ which have an important bearing on the subject.

An immediate result of the war was the organisation of the country on the northern slopes of Taurus and the creation of the

¹ See *Christ Born in Bethlehem*, pp. 105, 119, 122, 174, 184.

² Practically universal opinion among historical scholars follows the lucid and convincing proof given by Mommsen (after Borghesi, Henzen, etc.) in his commentary on the *Mon. Anc.* p. 170 f. that the famous Tiburtine fragment, recording parts of the career of a Roman officer whose name is lost, belongs to Sulpicius Quirinius and was probably placed on his tomb. This officer twice governed the province of Syria. Zumpt is the champion of a different view, that the fragment speaks of Sentius Saturninus, governor of Syria, 8-6 B.C.

³ Mommsen's opinion is dictated rather by accommodation of Quirinius's career to his chronology (which is certainly wrong in several points), than by the evidence, which is slender. If it had been clear and convincing, Zumpt would not have put forward his view. We accept Mommsen in the following pages.

⁴ The milestones have all been discovered since 1886. Colonia Lustra was unknown until 1884, when Sterrett found the name and the site, after Waddington had published the first known colonial coin. Colonia Comama was not even a name, much less recognised as a colonia, until 1886.

great system of Augustan roads (*viae sebastai*)¹ with the foundation of five new military colonies, taking their name after a uniform type from the emperor Augustus with various honorific additions. All the inscriptions relating to these roads belong to the year 6 B.C. This series of operations would naturally follow without any interval after the military operations were finished, or at least approaching a successful conclusion, and may be regarded as the final stage of the war. Cheesman, p. 257, says very pertinently: 'This operation can hardly have been completed in eastern Pisidia so long as the Homanadenses were unconquered, but it would be the natural sequel to a successful war. We may compare the road-making activity of Cornelius Dolabella in Dalmatia after the suppression of the great revolt, in A.D. 9.'² I would add to this that in all probability Colonia Parlais was founded at Bey-Sheher at the point where the river runs out from that lake through the Aulon (Strabo, p. 569) to Trogitis, a lake whose territory in its deep-lying valley among the mountains and outlying hills of Taurus was dominated by the Homanadenses (Strabo, *l.c.*). A colony in this situation, and the road which led further south and east to Isaura Palaia,³ could not possibly be made before the Homanadenses were completely reduced. On this argument, of course, the same stress cannot be laid as on Cheesman's reasons and illustration, because the position of Parlais is not conclusively proved, though I entertain full confidence that this was its situation (in Lycaonia according to the wide acceptance of the term, as in Strabo, p. 569).

The supposition that the *Viae Sebastai* might be built before the war, which would be necessary according to Mommsen's chronology,⁴ must be dismissed. In that situation partly among the Pisidian mountains, partly in the plain under and exposed to the mountain tribes, those roads could not be safe until the enemy was conquered and the dangerous tribes of Taurus generally were completely pacified. They are useful as a means of keeping order in a conquered country, but they would not be safe when an unsubdued enemy on the southern side was a source of constant danger: such a great length of road, running along the whole northern face of the enemy

¹ It is remarkable that these roads were not called by a Latin word, but by a Greek word written in Latin characters: the road was a *via sebaste*. In the use of the Greek word one may justly see a recognition of the fact that, in the East, Latin and Greek were conjoined as the officially recognised languages, and that the imperial policy regarded the Greek civilisation and system and law as allied with it in the task of subduing the barbarism of the East (see the remarks in *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 143 f, based on the settlement made on the Pisidian frontier by the first governor of the Galatic province). It is also an interesting fact that this name for these roads lasted in popular use at least as late as the middle of the second century, because

it is used in the more literary form *Βασιλική* in the legend of Paul and Thekla, which was committed to writing some time shortly after 150–160 A.D. The literary Greek called the Roman emperors *Βασιλείς*, scorning such barbarous terms as *αυτοκράτορες*, or *Αυγούστοι*, or *Σεβαστοί*.

² *C.I.L.* iii, pp. 406, 407.

³ *Ἰσαυροπαλαίτης* an inhabitant of Isaura Palaia: Hamilton, no. 438, *C.I.G.* iii, 4393.

⁴ The existence of these roads was unknown to Mommsen. The first milestone (*C.I.L.* iii, 6974) was found on the site of the hitherto unknown Colonia Comama in June 1886, and it alone was sufficient to make him recognise that the fabric of his chronology seemed to need reconsideration.

country, could not be maintained except with an overwhelming force.¹ It required far less expenditure of soldiers and money to take the offensive against the enemy (as Quirinius did) than to strive to guard a defensive position of this supposed character.

If a purely defensive frontier had been the object of the Romans, in fact if such a frontier had been possible in the circumstances, it would have been instituted much earlier, at the time when Colonia Caesarea was founded. The essence of the situation lies in this that the southern frontier, along the base of a mountain country inhabited by tribes of which some were actively hostile, while others were more or less strongly antipathetic, remained a constant source of danger; and the only way open to Augustus, when the province was instituted, was to found a garrison colony (Caesarea) in a strong position in southern Phrygia, which could set a limit to raids from the Taurus tribes, and to await the moment when the mountains could be attacked with assurance of success. An attack that might fail of full success was not advisable; and the Roman situation did not permit an offensive on a sufficiently large scale to make complete success certain until about 12 B.C. Amyntas had seen that an offensive policy was the proper course, but in pressing this policy prematurely (even though the attack was at first successful)² he had been defeated and had perished, thereby strengthening for a time the enemy and weakening the country under his authority.

The war, therefore, was planned, conducted and completed within the period 12–6 B.C.

§3. *The Organisation of the Roman forces for the War.*—It may be stated with confidence that an experienced officer like Quirinius fully recognised the difficult nature of the war and the need for careful preparation and organisation of the resources at his disposal. The legions in Syria must be on a footing of the most perfect efficiency: equipment and resources had to be accumulated in preparation for a long war both from the north and from the south. Everything required to be prepared carefully, so that, after the fighting actually began, all things should be ready to effect the

¹ The road system to the west of Antioch extended at least 122 Roman miles, as is attested by a milestone on the site of Comama. Several milestones found east of Antioch are numbered round about forty-five, but the road extended to Lystra, certainly about fifty miles further on. The weakness of such a defensive roadway, running partly through the foothills and partly through the level country on the north side of the mountains held by the Homanadeis and unsympathetic Pisidian tribes generally, needs no emphasis. It is true that part of the road immediately on each side of Antioch and Apollonia was safe, being too remote from the actively hostile mountain tribes,

if we assume that the Via Sebaste went by Apollonia and not by Egerdir (see § 3); but all the rest was close to and under the mountains.

² Strabo, p. 579, says that Amyntas captured many of their fortified posts (*χαῖρα*, Pliny's *castella*) and slew their tyrannos. This tyrant had seized (?) the office of priest-king, although there is some special meaning in the term, as distinguished from the dynastes or priest-king of Olba, Kennatis and Lalassis. [Dynastes was a technical term, used by Strabo in connexion with Thrace according to strict official usage, as inscriptions show; dynastes implied Roman recognition, but tyrannos connoted usurpation: Anderson.]

gradual conquest of an extremely difficult mountain country, where every point and peak and pass was likely to be contested by a stubborn and warlike population.¹ Surprises had to be guarded against by using strong forces. The wearing down of the Roman forces must be provided against by having sufficient troops ready to take the place of the first. The co-operation of a different province and of the Galatian auxiliaries on the north required some preliminary negotiation. The governor of Galatia at this time was Marcus Servilius, who was consul in A.D. 3.² It was always difficult to secure efficient co-operation between the governors of separate provinces. One device which was sometimes employed to ensure the co-operation of several provinces lay in a superior mission, as e.g. in the case of Corbulo, who was placed in authority over the eastern provinces generally with a view to conducting the war against Armenia and the Parthians; but this method was not adopted in the case of Quirinius.³ This man of obscure family was not placed in such a position of supreme authority. Moreover, Augustus probably was averse to granting that kind of wider authority to any person outside of his own family.⁴ Quirinius conducted the war as governor of Syria, but he saw the importance of securing the help of the province on the north, and in one way or another he formed an arrangement for co-operation with Servilius. Such an arrangement among the Romans generally constituted a personal bond of intimacy, and the term *amicitia* was applied to it. An echo of this relation between the two governors is preserved in the pages of Tacitus, *Annals* iii, 22: many years later, in A.D. 20, when Quirinius brought an action against his wife Aemilia Lepida, apparently in such circumstances as to excite public sympathy for Lepida, Servilius gave evidence in favour of his friend: it was regarded as a duty among Romans to speak and to witness in favour of their friends or neighbours at a trial. The relationship began in the cordial co-operation of the two governors, which had contributed to the success of the war against the Homanadeis.

The preparations for this difficult war can hardly have been completed in time to commence operations during the summer of 11 B.C. Great part of the country of the Homanadeis lies very high. Their country included the main heights of the broad Taurus plateau, ranging between 5,000 and 7,000 feet above the sea, and broken by many ravines and cañons. The most striking description of the country is given by Sterrett in his *Wolfe Expedition* (see §4). I have not crossed that part of the lofty Taurus ridge, but have

¹ The impression left by this war is mirrored in the pages of Strabo (pp. 569 ff.).

² See Cheesman loc. cit. p. 257 f.

³ It is to be understood that, although Corbulo had superior authority, e.g. in Galatia, yet there was a *legatus praetorius* looking after the ordinary

business of the province in the usual fashion. Cappadocia at that time was administered by the emperor's own procurator.

⁴ While Nero granted such over-governorship to Corbulo under the pressure of extreme danger, his jealousy and apprehension were roused, and Corbulo paid the penalty of his pre-eminence.

heard of its forbidding and difficult character from eye-witnesses, and have known similar but less serious difficulties in other parts of the Taurus and Antitaurus. In one case I suffered extremely from cold and rain in the last days of July and the beginning of August. At that elevation in Anatolia no season offers absolute freedom from the chances of unfavourable weather and trying storms. For the health and fighting power of an army it is necessary to be prepared to face great and sudden alternations of temperature, and the period during which military operations were undertaken by the ancients was much more narrowly circumscribed than in modern time. Even in peace and in ordinary life they were not nearly so ready to face the risk of extremely cold weather as we are now. At the present day it is common for travellers, and especially for the missionaries,¹ to face the winter weather on the plateau 3,000–3,500 feet above the sea; but in the fourth century Basil did not think it possible to face the cold of winter. The only thing that prevents a modern traveller is the absolute impassability of the native roads owing to the depth of the mud in case of continued rain; a few built roads are almost always traversable by resolute travellers, but Basil describes his own conduct even in a mild winter, Letter xxvii :

‘Then came winter, keeping me a prisoner at home, and compelling me to remain where I was. True, its severity was much less than usual, but this was quite enough to keep me not merely from travelling while it lasted, but even from so much as venturing to put my head out of doors.’

It is recorded that part of a Greek army in 314 B.C. perished in the snow crossing Taurus at a distinctly lower elevation than most part of the country of the Homanadenses²; undoubtedly that army did not face the rigours of mid-winter; but it chanced that snow fell unseasonably either after the usual time for military operations had begun or before it ended. As I know, in 1882 snow was blocking the pass of the Cilician Gates, the lowest crossing of the eastern Taurus mountains, as late as the end of May; but such an occurrence is rare. To take an even more remarkable case, I have seen the snow lying frozen on the railway in the lower Hermos valley about *Magnesia ad Sipylum* as late as April, about 100 feet above sea level. This also is quite unusual, and it was a mere sprinkling of snow which presented no difficulty to pedestrians. But snow and cold of an extremely trying kind may occur to a very much greater degree on the higher plateau of Taurus about six thousand feet above the sea; and legions which were used to the warm and even relaxing

¹ Two ladies, Miss Buxton and Miss Jebb, travelled over Anatolia in winter, though warned that travelling at that season was practically impossible.

² See Diod. xix. 69, 2. A German writer puts the event on Nemrun pass, but without reason. The Cilician Gates was the route for an army.

climate of Syria were ill prepared to face a campaign at this elevation.¹ An imprudent general might risk the danger; but, if things fell out badly, the army might be weakened to such a degree as to be unfit to carry on the campaign.

As has been stated, the combination of Galatic and Syrian effort must have been a prime feature of the war; and we are to some extent informed with regard to the way in which this co-operation was arranged. The military centre of the southern part of the province Galatia was Pisidian Antioch, a Roman colony founded probably at the institution of the province after the death of king Amyntas, 25 B.C.² This colony, founded with a garrison of experienced soldiers of the fifth Gallic legion (possibly also supplemented with soldiers of the seventh legion) occupied a very strong military position adjoining the Taurus frontier; and its rank as a Roman colony made it in a sense unique and outstanding in the entire province (*J.R.S.* 1916, p. 88 ff). There was no other Roman colony in Galatia, and the institution of a colony had obvious relation to the military needs of the province. The evidence of local milestones shows that from the year 6 B.C. onwards it was the centre of a military system of defence for the entire Taurus frontier, and there can be no doubt that it was intended to be so from the institution of the province, even although the provincial organisation was not yet completed by a system of military roads.

This outstanding importance of Antioch in its convenient and strong situation marked it as the pivot on which should move the machinery of war from the north against the Taurus mountaineers. The method adopted at this point is almost unique, yet in general analogy with other known cases; the Romans often showed great ingenuity and skill in adapting the ordinary machinery to suit the special need, and this case is typical of imperial boldness in device. To show the true nature of the facts it is necessary to repeat well-known rules, showing how they were used. In ordinary years the colony Antioch was governed by two annual magistrates (*duoviri*) of equal authority, like Roman consuls, sharing between themselves the authority with which they were invested. In a serious war it was more convenient to have some form of unified command concentrating the administration and resources of such a colonial garrison

¹ [Tac. *Ann.* xiii, 35, describes the rigorous measures adopted by Corbulo to harden his troops in Armenia: Anderson.]

² 25 B.C. was the official date of the organisation of the Galatic province and of the great military colony, yet considering the distance, the time needed in conveying the news (even by a *pinnatus nuntius*), and the necessary preparations, 24 B.C. is the earliest possible date for actual work, if Amyntas was killed in 25; for his death must have taken place in summer, when alone warfare was possible

among the Homanadensian mountains. If, however, 26 was the year of defeat, then 25 was perhaps recorded as the date of actual organisation of the province. Most probably the province was considered to begin from the death of Amyntas without any interval in 25 B.C., though permanent occupation could not begin until the year following. On the rate of imperial messengers see my article on 'Roads and Travel in New Testament Times' (*Hastings, Dict. Bib.* v, p. 386). Naturally the arrangement of a military colony would require time.

city under one officer. Two remarkable monuments which have been discovered at Antioch bear on this point, and they have been rightly interpreted by Cheesman. The most distinguished citizen of Antioch at this time was Gaius Caristianus Fronto Caesianus Julius. He is known to us through two inscriptions. One of these is an incomplete inscription on a single complete stone (evidently an ordinary block used for building purposes). In all probability this stone was part of the family tomb, and the inscription continued on a second stone below the one which is known. The other inscription belongs to an earlier date, as is clear from the course of office (which is not so extensive as in the sepulchral inscription): it was engraved on the basis of a statue erected to C. Caristianus by the colonia,¹ and mentions that he was the first citizen of the colony to whom a statue was erected by decree of the *decuriones* at the public expense. The older inscription, evidently, dates from the time when Caristianus was actually filling the highest position in the State, and from the first year in which this position was conferred upon him in such an honourable fashion. (1) C. Carista[nio] C. F. Ser. Front[oni] Caesiano Iul[io], praef. fabr., pont[if.], sacerdoti, prae[f.] P. Sulpici Quirini ii v[iri], praef. M. Servili. Huic primo omnium publice d.d. statua posita est. (2) C. Caristanio [C. F. Ser.] Frontoni Caesiano Iulio, praef. fabr., trib. mil. leg. xii fulm., praef. coh. Bos[p.], pontif., praef. P. Sulpici Quirini ii vir., praef. M. Servili, praef. . . .

It often happened that some city of Italy or the provinces elected either the reigning emperor or a member of the imperial house as chief magistrate in a sort of honorary fashion. We may conjecture that imperial permission had to be given to any city which desired this honour. The honorary magistrate nominated a deputy, styled *praefectus*, to perform the duties: the deputy naturally was one of the leading citizens, resident in the town.²

The record of such cases, indeed, does not describe any permission as asked or required; but the nature of imperial policy makes it practically certain. So, e.g. it is only through the chance discovery of an inscription at Cos that we learn that permission to appeal to the supreme court of the empire, i.e. 'appeal to Caesar,' must be granted by the governor of the province when the appeal was made. This rule (which bears on the appeal of Paul to Caesar) might have been assumed as needed, and is actually implied in the record of the Acts xxvi, 32, where the brief statement implies consideration and power on the part of the governor, but no modern writer took thought of this until the document was found at Cos (Paton

¹ *Decreto decurionum publice* [in formal language, as is stated in the following words of the inscription: Anderson.]

² When an emperor accepted the honorary

magistracy, he had no colleague, and his *praefectus* was sole supreme magistrate for the year. When any other than the emperor was appointed a colleague was elected in the usual fashion.

and Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, no. 26: see my *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 311) Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii, pp. 258, 931, and *Zft. Sav. St.* 1890.

There are also a few cases, in which individuals who were not members of the imperial house were elected to such an honorary magistracy; but after the reign of Augustus this fashion was rarely put in practice, for probably the feeling grew that such an honour should be restricted to the imperial family. The instances which occur are enumerated by Cheesman; and they are instructive.

(1) T. Statilius Taurus, consul in 36 B.C. and 26 B.C., a confidential friend of Augustus, was *duumvir quinquennalis* at Dyrrhachium with a deputy of equestrian standing (like Caristanus).¹

(2) Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father of Nero, was *duumvir* at Pisidian Antioch with a similar deputy.²

(3) Iuba II, king of Mauretania 25 B.C.–A.D. 23, was *duumvir* of two towns in Spain, Gades and Carthago Nova, and was presumably represented by a deputy.³

(4) P. Dolabella, who governed Dalmatia during the critical years which followed the great revolt of A.D. 6–9, was *quinquennalis* at Salonae with Drusus the son of Germanicus, and a sometime magistrate of the town acted as *praefectus* to both.⁴

Cheesman adds a fifth, which, as he intimates, is very doubtful.⁵

We notice that these four exceptions are Romans of high distinction. One is the intimate friend of Augustus. Another is the father of the emperor Nero, belonging to the very highest nobility, and he was elected actually in this colony of Pisidian Antioch. A third is the client king of Mauretania, who was elected by two towns in Spain: there can be no doubt that this king was in close relations with those cities,⁶ and that it was politic and prudent for them to cultivate close and friendly relations with king Iuba. The fourth example is peculiarly instructive. In a critical period of the province Dalmatia the governor was elected at Salonae, the leading city of the province; his colleague in this honorary magistracy was likewise honorary, being actually a member of the imperial house; and an experienced citizen was named by both as *praefectus*, thus concentrating the authority during the crisis in the hands of one man.

In Colonia Caesarea (Antioch), accordingly, Gaius Caristanus was nominated by two Roman officials to act as their deputy and *praefectus*, when they were elected honorary magistrates of Pisidian

¹ C.I.L. iii, 605.

² C.I.L. iii, 6809.

³ C.I.L. ii, 3417, and Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 840 (who cites other evidence).

⁴ C.I.L. iii, 14712.

⁵ 'Ti. Statilius Severus (otherwise unknown) is named on an Italian inscription not earlier than the second century A.D. as having a *praefectus*.

But it is not clear that he was a *duumvir*, or that the *praefectus* was a deputy to a *duumvir* (C.I.L. x, 3910).'

⁶ Historical record, geographical facts, and commercial advantages, agree as to this. At the present day the interests of Spain in Mauretania are admitted, and constitute an international difficulty in respect of the French position.

Antioch: these two officials were Publius Sulpicius Quirinius and Marcus Servilius. There is only one sufficient explanation of the election of Quirinius to this honorary office: he was governor of Syria and was therefore brought into close relations with Antioch during the Homanadensian war (as Cheesman rightly emphasises). No other reason can be imagined why this remote, yet important, Roman colony should elect in this honorary fashion a Roman official of obscure birth and hitherto not specially distinguished career, except that, in preparing for the war, the governor and the colony were inevitably brought into close relations.

A similar reason must be supposed in the case of Servilius. He was indeed a man of more distinguished family, but he did not attain to the consulship until much later, 3 A.D., and it is a reasonable and natural supposition that he was in the time of the war the governor of Galatia, so that his cordial co-operation in the war was important. The two governors were thus co-ordinated in intimate relations with the pivotal garrison colony, and the hypothesis seems inevitable that the two governors were according to arrangement elected as colleagues in the *duumvirate*, and that both nominated Caristanus as their deputy. This is rightly interpreted by Cheesman as a measure designed to put Antioch under something like a dictatorship for the purposes of the war without unduly violating its municipal liberties.¹ The case of Salonae above mentioned furnishes a close parallel (except that one of the two colleagues in Salonae was a member of the imperial family residing at a distance); the unification of authority in the city during a critical period was attained by very similar means. Both at Colonia Caesarea (Antioch) and at Salonae it is quite probable that the means adopted originated from the plan of Augustus himself, although about this no information has survived or is likely to be found in inscriptions.

The other method of attaining a quasi-dictatorship by electing Augustus himself was not followed in either case.² It did not suit his policy to put himself too much forward: this self-suppression was a leading feature in his administration. Moreover, the cordial co-operation of the two governors was an important factor in the war.

In passing it may be noted that Colonia Caesarea was in the habit of seeking prominent persons as honorary magistrates. Drusus was elected for two successive years before his death 14th September, 9 B.C. (*C.I.L.* iii, 6843); Domitius, the father of Nero, was also elected to this honorary magistracy, and here we have the case of Quirinius, of Servilius, and of some other Roman official³ who appointed Caris-

¹ Cheesman, indeed, suggests that Quirinius and Servilius were elected for successive years; but this would spoil the quasi-dictatorship, which (as he rightly sees) was held by C. Caristanus.

² The emperor as duumvir and his praefectus stood alone.

³ This succession of great names as honorary duumvirs would even in itself alone sufficiently prove that Antioch in the first fifty years of its history was a place of imperial consequence.

tanius as his prefect (the name unfortunately has perished, being engraved on a different stone in the wall of the family sepulchre), probably in the following year, so that C. Caristanus held the reins in Antioch for two successive years and was able to carry out the plans for the war without interruption. The analogy above quoted from Saloniae suggests the possibility or even probability that Drusus was elected *duumvir* for 10 B.C. and again in 10 for 9 B.C.¹ and that in 10 Caristanus was his prefect; in the second year he nominated St. Pescennius. If this guess be correct, Caristanus held office 11 and 10 B.C. and the sequel shows what he was probably doing in the following years 9-7.

It is a reasonable supposition that, after the general plan of operations was arranged, no time was lost, and that Quirinius left Rome in autumn 12 B.C. We may suppose that he travelled by the Egnatian way, conferred with the governor of Galatia, established friendly relations with him, and settled the form of co-operation (as indicated in general outline by Augustus himself). Thus it came about that the two governors were elected at Antioch for 11 B.C. and nominated Caristanus as their praefectus for that year. Thereafter Quirinius proceeded to Syria, and both governors set about preparing for the impending war. The legions in Syria had now to be put in perfect condition and equipment, the province provided for during their absence, and the encircling operations (necessitating long marching and the lapse of time) had to be all executed.

Roman usage in official service during the empire was well arranged according to general principles, which were settled in the experience of actual administration under the Republic and the early empire. The definite form and outline of each class of career was formulated: largely by Augustus. There is a tendency among modern scholars to harden these general principles into fixed laws; but for the most part they were tendencies rather than laws. The German scholars especially seem almost to forget the marvellous elasticity of Roman official system: real efficiency, not rigid cast-iron rule, was the vital fact. The welfare of the state was the supreme law; and every magistrate in Rome was bound, in the absence of a higher magistrate, to take measures and to act for that end. It would be difficult to find exactly the same *cursus honorum* of two officials: the immense variety of duties necessarily made such identity impossible. But, beyond this inevitable variety, there is a deeper kind of variation, due to the free adaptation of means to the end at the moment. The same device, the same official position, like the praefectura in the cases mentioned in this section, was used

¹ Drusus cannot have been elected *duumvir* for 9 and 8 B.C.; it is indeed true that his death on 14th September would be unknown in Antioch at the time of election in 9 B.C.; but the inscrip-

tion would in that case naturally contain some reference to his death, which would be known in Antioch by 1st January, when his praefect entered office. *C.I.L.* iii, 6843.

with boldness, skill and creativeness to serve various temporary purposes in quite different ways. There is a marked resemblance between the position of Caristanius at Antioch and of a former magistrate at Salonae a few years later; both hold a quasi-dictatorship in a Roman provincial centre during a critical period; but there is only resemblance, not identity, in the method of placing them in this position. So again with Quirinius himself: he goes direct from the qualifying consulship to hold one of the very highest and most responsible positions in the empire and to conduct a serious war with the command of large forces. He had already proved his capacity for this position, and the ordinary rules of promotion were set aside in his case. Again, in many cases, the armies stationed in a province were used to make Roman procedure effective in a client-state or a frontier land: that was twice at least done among the Kietai of the Tracheiotic Taurus (see p. 262), and it was done, doubtless, in slightly different ways by Quirinius and by others on other occasions. Yet in case of need auxilia drawn from a client-state were used by Quirinius for a Roman war (as e.g. the Bosporan *ala*, p. 254).¹

Such is the lesson taught by the Homanadensian war regarding Roman creativeness and adaptation of existing means to special ends.

§4. *Geographical Conditions of the War.*—The situation of the Homanadeis is described in Strabo xii, 6, 5, in a sentence which is obscure topographically to the ordinary reader,² but which is clear and convincing to those who have seen the localities. He describes their territory as being situated in the lofty regions of the Taurus, consisting of rocky cliffs which are very precipitous, in large part hardly accessible, embracing within it a hollow and fertile plain which parts into several tunnels; and the population, while cultivating this plain, used to dwell in the overhanging precipices or caves. The plain which is here meant is beyond all doubt the wonderful valley of lake Trogitis, which is a deep hollow, extraordinarily fertile, with very steep mountains of the Taurus rising on the west, south, and south-east, and with lower tracts of the Taurus enclosing it on the east and north.³ The remarkable feature, however, is the funnels. The use of this name *αὐλών* in Strabo and elsewhere is clear and definite. It indicates a passage which is open at each end: it does not describe a mountain glen which is closed at the one end by the higher ground and opens into a lower ground:

¹ Cheesman also compares Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, 46, xii, 16.

² It was essentially obscure to me till 1909, when I had the opportunity of visiting lake Trogitis and traversing the Aulon or cañon from it to the plain of Konia. Yet I had been learning by

hearsay and reading much about the lake, and had seen the neighbouring regions north and east.

³ The suggestion (made by Jüthner, etc. in their Prelim. account of their journey of 1902) that it was the valley of Kemboş Göl cannot be sustained.

these funnels are the most characteristic feature of the valley of Trogitis. Through one comes the river which flows south from lake Karalis into Trogitis. From the south-eastern coast of Trogitis there extends for one or two miles a deep arm of the lake fringed on both sides by steep, nearly inaccessible rocks. This is the beginning of another funnel. Not far from its western end this funnel is crossed by the road which runs south over a modern bridge. There is a local legend that this modern bridge is built on the top of an ancient bridge. It was of course impossible for us to verify the legend, i.e. to discover the real facts which lie behind and underneath it; but the situation is so extraordinary as inevitably to lead to the growth of popular tales.¹ This arm of the lake comes to an end, but the funnel or cañon continues eastward. It is, roughly speaking, between a third and a quarter of a mile broad, and the mountains of Taurus rise very steep and quite inaccessible except at one or two points where natural *klimakes* are capable of ascent by active mountaineers. The water no longer flows through this cañon, but there is practical certainty that at one time it did flow here. The difference of level is extremely slight; but there is a slow gradual descent eastwards through the cañon which continues about twenty to thirty miles until it reaches a point where the river that drains the Isaurican country round Isaura Palaia comes in from the south through a gorge. Just before reaching the river there is a *klimax* on the right hand, much more easily traversed than any of the others, leading up to a village high on the steep side of Taurus. In the last years before the war a German company (which was really the Deutsche Bank) undertook on behalf of the Turkish government to carry into effect a long-talked-of great irrigation scheme,² whereby the water from the lakes Karalis and Trogitis should be conducted into the plain of Konia, utilising first of all the funnel and thereafter the channel of the Isaurican river which runs east and north-east to the neighbourhood of Tchumra (second station on the railway to Laranda, 40 km. from Konia).

This identification of the plain of lake Trogitis as the hollow surrounded by the Homanadeis will seem remarkable to the reader of Strabo who judges the geographer only from study at home.³ Strabo mentions the two lakes, Karalis and Trogitis, xii, 6, 1, and he gives no hint that he again is describing the valley of lake Trogitis in §5 of the same chapter. The fact is that he was using two totally different sources of information, and was himself probably not aware that the second one alluded to the same lake. In §1 he depends

¹ Wild and fanciful tales are current, both among the old Arab geographers and in modern talk, about localities and events in Anatolia. There is always some real fact of remarkable character behind the tales.

² This scheme was mentioned by Said Pasha (Ingleez Said) at Konia in 1882 in my hearing; he had instructed engineers to take the levels, which proved the possibility of the enterprise.

³ It is made in *Pisidia-Lycania*, p. 265.

largely on information which he gathered as he passed along the Syrian Way through Savatra. He learned on his journey a good deal about the general aspect of Lycaonia, but his description of everything that lies south of Boz-Dagh is evidently dependent on hearsay and not on eyesight. He never saw Iconium, as is perfectly clear from the terms of his allusion to it. He never saw the lakes, but as he passed along the road on the north side of Boz-Dagh he gathered good and accurate information which he states in a somewhat vague form.¹ On the other hand his description of the Homanadensian country and the lake, which he does not name, depends upon the account given him by some officer who had taken part in the Homanadensian war. It is in every respect excellent, no word is wasted, every detail is full of meaning to those who have seen the country: Strabo had not himself seen the lake or the mountains, but repeats with remarkable accuracy the account given him by an eye-witness with soldierly clearness and brevity.

The best idea of the tremendous difficulties of a campaign in the Homanadensian country is gained by reading the simple and clear narrative of travel given by Sterrett in his *Wolfe Expedition*. I take a few examples from his accounts, premising that it is not always possible to say whether these relate to Homanadensian territory or to that of the neighbouring Cilicians; but they all describe the higher Taurus plateau in this region generally.

‘A short distance east of Avdjilar-Kaplanlu the edge of the bluff of the cañon of the Alata Su is reached; it is very precipitous, and an idea of the great depth of the cañon may be gained from the fact that one hour is required for the descent from the top of the bluff down to the river in the cañon. . . . We became convinced, both from the general character of the ground and from the roar of cataracts, that it was dangerous to proceed farther. . . . The Gök Su disappears underground, to reappear somewhat more than half a mile lower down, thus forming a *natural bridge*, known as Yer Köprü. But this is not all! Immediately below the point where the Gök Su disappears under the ground, and on the left bank of the Gök Su, a large stream, Kara Su, rises at the foot of the bluff. On the other (the right) side of the cañon a second stream, Ak Su, rises at the foot of the bluff. So that we stand before the singular phenomenon of two rivers flowing for their entire length on a natural bridge over a third river’ (p. 51 f.).

‘We then reach a vast plateau, very rough and rolling. This plateau extends from the backbone of Allah Dagħ to the valley of Ermenek and the Gök Su, when it breaks off suddenly.

¹ εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ λίμναι . . . ἐνταῦθα δὲ πού τις καὶ τὸ Ἰκόνιον ἔστι. Contrast this with the account of Savatra (Soatra) which is that of one who had seen what he tells.

This plateau is very high, and throughout the winter is a vast snow-field. Snow-posts mark the road for the benefit of those so unlucky as to have to cross from Alata to the Navahy region in winter. Without the snow-posts the journey would be exceedingly dangerous. About four hours' travel brings us to the edge of the plateau; and we look down upon the Navahy Deresi far below us, and beyond that upon the valley of the Gök Su. Hence we descend west in about one and a half hours to Lakhlas. 'The bluff falls off almost perpendicular' (p. 80).

'Immediately beyond Kalün Aghyl we reach the bluff of the cañon; a frightful yawning abyss is on my right, and a high perpendicular bluff, called Demirli Kaya, is on my left. The descent (about south) is but slow, as the road slants along the bluff of the cañon; we finally are down on the Alata Su about one quarter of an hour below Sazak and Pirlevganda, both of which villages are visible. The descent occupies more than an hour and a half' (p. 95).

Even if some of these descriptions refer to Cilicia Tracheia we have the authority of Strabo that the Homanadensian territory comprised the high part of the Taurus plateau, and on the map this is seen to be the watershed between the Pamphylian valley of the Melas on the west side and the Lycaonian or Cilician side of Tcharshamba Su and the Kalykadnos on the east. The following extract describes a part of this region, but it was evidently so difficult and so mountainous that Sterrett has only one route near this highest part of the plateau.

'Almost immediately after leaving Arvan the ascent of Kabukla¹ Belen Dagħ begins; it is exceedingly steep, and the ascent requires about two hours. The summit once reached, we have before us what is virtually a rough rolling table-land, bounded on the west by Gök Dagħ. Gök Dagħ is not so high as Geyik Dagħ, which is still heavily covered with snow, while Gök Dagħ has only a few patches of snow. Gök Dagħ is not a single peak, but a long mountain range, which runs north-northwest and south-southeast, until it comes to an end immediately south of Bei Sheher Göl' (p. 135).

To judge from Sterrett, the loftiest part of this region where the Homanadeis according to Strabo must have lived, is a great ridge under many different names, which runs from SSE. to NNW. passing along the west coast of Trogitis and breaking down towards the south coast of Karalis. It is possible that the town of Astra which Sterrett found in the upper valley of the Kalykadnos may have belonged to the Homanadeis; but more probably, as both

¹ Calder suggests Kabuklu, I follow St. (perhaps Kabaklu).

geographical situation and epigraphic evidence show, it was part of the territory either of Isauria or of some Cilician tribe. Epigraphic evidence points to Isaurian, but geographic evidence is rather in favour of Cilician, character.

With regard to the ethnological character of this tribe Strabo distinctly classes them as Cilicians, not as Pisidians. He speaks (p. 569) about the Cilicians and Pisidians who were in the habit of making raids on the rich level country which belonged to the Phrygians, including evidently the Homanadenses either under Cilicians or under Pisidians; but in p. 668 he distinguishes between Isaura with the Homanadeis on the one hand and Pisidia on the other, and proceeds to say that this region of Isaura and the tribe are to be classed as Cilician; and a similar inference follows indubitably from his language in p. 667.

The people called Lycaones are spoken of by Dionysius Perieg. and others as warlike and unruly. If we think of Lycaonia only as the level plain south-east and east of Iconium, still more if we include the great plain further north, lying on the west and south-west of lake Tatta (as Strabo does), these epithets seem improbable. A population dwelling for generations and centuries on a dead level country with few points of defence and exposed to the incursions and raids of foreign enemies, is not likely to remain courageous and fierce; but the epithets used are quite natural when we include among the Lycaonian people the tribes of the hill country on the northern side of the Taurus watershed, Isaurians and Homanadenses. These are classed with the Cilicians of Tracheia as possessing the free and indomitable spirit of mountaineers. It is not, however, simply on the ground of character that Strabo classes these tribes together: he evidently considers that there was a racial connection between them all, and he divides them all from the Pisidians as a different race. How far this is true or not forms no part of our present subject. What we have to do is simply to establish correctly what is the testimony of the ancient authorities, which as a matter of fact has been frequently misstated.¹

The records of later times and recent discoveries reveal the situation of many cities or townships, and thus lend additional precision to the topography of the war. The hills east of Trogitis belonged to the demos Sedasa of the (Homanadensian) tribe (Sterrett discovered Sedasa). Balyklawo southward on the same hills is treated by Calder as Homanadensian. On the east bank of the Aulon towards Karalis the Austrian expedition in 1902 found proof that the territory belonged to the town of Vasada, on Kestel Dag in the hill country; and this town is always assigned to

¹ [What about the northward extension of Kilikia in Herodotus? Any connexion? Anderson.]

Kilikia was one of the ten Cappadocian strategiai.

Lycaonia.¹ The existence of two Lycaonian bishoprics, Vasada (Vasanda) and Homanada, is confirmed by the evidence of all the Notitiae, of Hierocles and of the Councils from 325 onwards.² As Vasada (Vasanda) was not Homanadensian, this situation defines approximately the northern limit of the tribe. While the Homanadeis held the mountains and even the hill country round lake Trogitis, they did not own the channel of the Irmak from Karalis, with its fertile banks and the hill country on each side. Vasada possessed the country on the east side of the Irmak, Amblada that on the west. These were both bishoprics of Lycaonia after A.D. 371. Previously, Amblada was reckoned to Pisidia by Artemidorus and Strabo, whereas Vasada was reckoned to Lycaonia by Ptolemy, and lake Trogitis is given as a Lycaonian lake by Strabo. Amblada had some pretensions to be a Hellenised city, and calls itself 'Lacedaemonian' on its coins. It would therefore, in so far as it was really Hellenistic, be opposed to the Homanadeis, and likely to aid the Romans. It was not a mere mountain people. Yet the population is called rude and uncultivated by Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.* v, 2, and the situation is described by him as unhealthy. The climate and air of Bey Sheher, of the Aulon along the Irmak, and of the whole valley of Trogitis are infamous in modern estimation among the natives for their 'heavy' and insalubrious character.

§5. *The Progress of the War, and the Troops engaged.*—In these circumstances it may be confidently inferred that actual operations in the Homanadensian mountains did not begin before 10 B.C. With regard to the course and duration of the war, the Tiburtine inscription furnishes important evidence: two supplications and the triumphal ornaments were bestowed on the successful general. These distinctions (as Cheesman says) are not reconcilable with a short war, for they are three separate religious acts, recognising the successes of three years.³ It is conceivable that the war may have lasted even through four summer campaigns, for it is far from certain that the first summer brought sufficient success to be rewarded with the honour of a supplication at Rome⁴; at any rate it may be

¹ Vasada is mentioned by Ptolemy, v, 4, 9, who probably got it from Agrippa's lists. It was in the province Galatia. Being further north than the Homanadensian fortresses it was better known, and nearer the sphere of Hellenisation, but it never struck any coins (so far as known). Dalisandos in the plain of Trogitis was not strongly held by the tribe when freely marauding, but became important in the settled peace of the Roman empire.

² Lycaonia was not a province until A.D. 371 but those two towns from 295 to 371 were in the province Isauria, not in Pisidia; and the north-west and north part of Isauria was assigned to the new province Lycaonia by Valens about 371.

³ A triumph was originally purely religious, and the triumphing general appeared as the god on his car and wearing his dress. It became more political and less strictly religious, but something of the religious character persisted.

⁴ On the other hand, it is also quite probable that the level ground round Trogitis, easily accessible from Antioch, was quickly overrun in the first year, and thereafter the real difficulties of the war began when the forty-four fortified villages among the mountains had to be captured, and the difficult narrow passes to be forced. I have seen one important entrance, ascending as by a ladder of rock 2,000 feet, which a few determined men could hold for a long time.

confidently said that the war must have dragged on through the successive campaigns of 10, 9, and 8 B.C. at least, and that the success was recognised by three different ceremonies at Rome. More probably, when we take into account the deep impression made on Strabo (xii, 6, 3 and 5, xii, 7; I, pp. 569, 570),¹ the fighting must have lasted through the four years 10–7 B.C. and the *Viae Sebastai* and the Augustan five colonies were in process of construction, probably by detachments of the soldiers who had fought the war, in 6 B.C. Progress was necessarily extremely slow. One point after another had to be gained against all the difficulties of each position and the stubborn resistance of a hitherto unconquered foe. Attack from the south was practically impossible; that country, indeed, was governed by a client king, Archelaos; but to press any active attack from that side long lines of communication over an extremely difficult country through an alien population (which probably was far from sympathetic with the Romans) would have to be maintained; and probably operations from the south were intended only to hold the Homanadeis, and so to block their flight, ensuring that they were conquered permanently and not merely temporarily.²

The career of Caristanus in the Roman army seems to have some bearing on the war. In the later inscription, probably sepulchral, he is said to have been tribune of the soldiers of the twelfth legion *fulminata*, and prefect of a cohort of Bosporani. These offices are omitted in the inscription on the basis of his statue (erected according to our theory in 11 B.C.), and Cheesman infers, as I think correctly, that they are later than the erection. There are two alternatives: (1) Caristanus may have gone away from Antioch at some later period, after the war was ended, to serve as an officer in the army. This is not in accordance with analogy. A man who had been chief magistrate in the colonia was not likely thereafter to go away to military service. In ordinary course military service came first during early manhood, then higher municipal duties, such as duumvirate or praefecture, in mature age. As Cheesman says, the arrangement of the later or sepulchral inscription clearly is that posts in the military service are put first, municipal posts later.³ This, however, does not inevitably imply chronological succession: the case is more complicated. (2) Another supposition is more probable. These positions were actually filled during the war. The statue was erected to Caristanus, when he as single prefect was preparing the resources of the colony for the coming war.

¹ His references to the Homanadeis, pp. 668, 679, have no immediate bearing on the war.

² Unless this cordon were maintained on the southern side, those hill tribes, fighting a guerilla warfare, might take refuge in small detachments and singly among the anti-Roman mountaineers of

Cilicia Tracheia (subject to Archelaos), and so be ready to reunite and fight again. See also p. 235, note 2.

³ It is common in Anatolian municipal inscriptions to find a clear separation drawn between the imperial service and the municipal service.

Probably he had been a soldier, but not an officer, previously. According to the custom of the colonial military caste in the early years of Colonia Caesarea, he served in the army; but, on the usual rule, *caligata militia* is omitted. His ability and energy marked him out as the needed praefectus in 11 B.C. After holding this office in 11 and being perhaps nominated again [by Drusus?] in 10, he entered on a new term of *militia equestris* in the war for which he had helped to organise the colonia. This of course was unusual, but in a colonia, a pivotal post in the war, everything was liable to be more or less unusual in time of a serious war; the career of Caristanius was evidently in many respects a succession of innovations; and the theory suits and explains all the conditions. The innovations were made in his cursus for the sake of the present war, and were not arbitrary violations of rule (as they would be, if a supreme magistrate went away to be an officer in distant regiments).

Whatever improvements or changes on our theory may be needed, the probability is very great that both legio XII and the Bosporan cohort were drawn into the war, and that Caristanius held a command first in the one, then in the other, taking an active part in the fighting of 10-8, after being sole praefectus in 11, and being re-appointed [by Drusus] in 10. In his second prefecture there would be a colleague (as was usual), and the supreme magistrate of a military colonia, like a consul in Rome,¹ might reasonably go as an officer to the war.

The problem for Quirinius and Servilius was to bring together sufficient troops for the war. We may take it for granted that the Syrian legions were engaged. It is evident also that the very unusual course of bringing troops from a client kingdom was adopted.² 'Usually the client kings raised and controlled their own troops and supplied no contingents to the regular auxilia of the imperial army' (Cheesman); here, however, a cohort of the Bosporani must have been engaged in the imperial service, and the war furnished an occasion when such unusual measures were necessary.³ As to the twelfth legion, if Pfizner's view is correct, it was stationed in Egypt, and in that case it was drawn from Egypt to support the Syrian legions in the war. Grotefend on the other hand supposes⁴ that already under Augustus it was stationed in Syria; and the present inscription confirms his opinion. Marquardt follows

¹ Caesarea colonia was, in a sense, a fragment of Rome itself, separated in space, but peopled by Romans of the *tribus* Sergia.

² There were, as stated already, few troops in the province Galatia; but the client kingdom of Bosporus was under a certain tutelage to the Galatic governor, and its troops were summoned.

³ [Bosporus was part of Polemo's kingdom, and the

obligation to provide soldiers for the Roman army was evidently imposed by Agrippa; cf. Rostovtseff in *J.R.S.* 1917, p. 43, note 4. It is natural that they should have been utilised, as the Roman army had its hands full elsewhere: Anderson.]

⁴ [So also Stille, *Historia leg. auxiliorumque inde ab excessu divi Augusti*, p. 87: 'Avec la plus grande vraisemblance' (Cagnat): Anderson.]

Grotefend, at least to the extent that this legion was stationed in Syria in 23 A.D.¹

The following suggestions may be offered with regard to some troops which were probably active in the early period of Colonia Caesarea, and apparently did not long survive.

There were at one time seven Alae of Phrygians. Of these only one is known, Ala VII Phrygum, on which see Cheesman, *Auxilia*, p. 61. For a long time this Ala was known only through one single inscription, and the number was 'corrected.' Its existence, however, is now vouched for by two other inscriptions. Originally there must have been six other Alae 'which have mysteriously vanished.' The explanation which I would suggest is that these were needed in the early years of the province Galatia to guard the southern frontier, where cavalry was useful in checking tribal raids on the fertile plains of southern Phrygia.² My last letter to Cheesman (in July 1914) stated this suggestion; but the War interrupted such theorizing.

Cheesman correctly assigns the seven Phrygian cohorts to the province Galatia. There was indeed a very much larger part of Phrygia in the province Asia, but the auxiliary cohorts are practically confined to imperial provinces, whereas Asia was senatorial.³

It might seem hardly necessary to reiterate the proof that there was a distinct section or region of the province Galatia which bore the name Phrygia: but this is so frequently denied or ignored that the evidence may be briefly referred to. The chief authorities are Strabo, who calls this region Phrygia-towards-Pisidia; Ptolemy, who calls it Pisidian Phrygia; and several inscriptions which mention Phrygia as a region of the province. Further, the description of Colonia Caesarea in ordinary usage is sufficient: it is a city of Phrygia-towards-Pisidia: in the Acts of the Apostles xiii, 13, it is called Pisidian Antioch (where the incorrect reading gradually crept in, Antioch of Pisidia, as if it were part of the region Pisidia). Gradually, however, incorrect usage began to prevail, as was frequently the case with the Roman treatment of geographical facts and names. Galatic Phrygia and Galatic Pisidia were mixed together, and it is not improbable that during the second century, beginning perhaps from A.D. 74,⁴ they may have formed one administrative district. This wrong usage became more and more widespread, and at last in the time of Diocletian the southern part of the province Galatia

¹ Borghesi's opinion that Leg. XII was in Germany at this time must be definitely set aside.

² In *J.R.S.* 1916, p. 96, I used by a slip the term 'Cohortes' in place of Alae.

³ For some reason many soldiers were drawn from Eumeneia, and a few from Apameia (*C.B. Pbr.*

ii, 379); but elsewhere in Asia they are few; and no auxiliary troops take their name from senatorial provinces.

⁴ In 74 great part of Galatic Pisidia was transferred to Pamphylia; the remainder was perhaps classed with Galatic Phrygia as one region. Some slight epigraphic evidence points to this.

was constituted a separate province under the name Pisidia. It included all the original Galatic Phrygia, a section of Pisidia, a part of Lycaonia and a section of Asian Phrygia containing the cities of Apameia and Metropolis. This late province Pisidia had two capitals, Antioch, that old Phrygian city and colony, and Iconium, which is called by Basil a secondary capital of the province. Still later, in 371, a separate province Lycaonia was formed (page 252, n. 2).

Another case of an auxiliary force which probably was originally connected with and actually stationed at Colonia Caesarea is Ala Augusta Germanicana. This Ala is mentioned only in four Antiochian inscriptions, and it is a convincing conjecture of Calder's (*J.R.S.* 1912, p. 100 f.), that, when Drusus died in Germany in 9 B.C. (and according to the theory stated in the present paper was at the time honorary magistrate of Colonia Caesarea), the already existing Ala Augusta assumed the additional title Germanicana. Two inscriptions, *C.I.L.* iii, 6821 and 6831, which mention this Ala, probably belong to the time of Tiberius or Claudius. The only other inscriptions of this Ala use the title Germanica; the name already was being broken down and its origin forgotten; yet the inscriptions are little later than the middle of the first century, dating between A.D. 54 and 68. One is *C.I.L.* iii, 6822; and the fourth is published by Calder, *J.R.S.* 1912, p. 99: both are dedicated by this Ala to the same person, a procurator of Nero. Inasmuch as this Ala erected dedications in Antioch twice, it was apparently stationed there. The other two inscriptions which mention the Ala are dedications to its praefectus, evidently a citizen of Antioch, but they afford no certain evidence as to its station.

Our theory therefore is that seven Alae Phrygum and probably an Ala Augusta were stationed in the time of the founder at Antioch or other points of the southern frontier, and that six of these squadrons, also the Ala Augusta, ceased to exist during the first century A.D., while Ala VII Phrygum was transferred to Syria.

§6. *The Military Operations of the War.*—These operations cannot be described except in a general fashion, and the distribution of them to a succession of years is impossible. There are three excellent authorities, Strabo, Pliny and Tacitus, all of whom use first-hand descriptions of the war. Our view is that Pliny depends on the Acta describing the circumstances owing to which the triumphal ornaments had been bestowed on Quirinius; so also Tacitus; while Strabo gives an outline based on information derived from an officer engaged in the war. The reasons for this view are stated in the following paragraphs.

It may be taken as certain that the Roman operations began by invading from Antioch the valley of lake Trogitis. The army would pass down by that new city Neapolis, which was probably founded

not later than the time of Augustus,¹ or more probably grew up naturally on the line of the road, whereas Anaboura, the modern Enevre, lies some distance to the west of the line of communication in a very fertile valley. Neapolis was situated, as may be stated with perfect confidence, at or beside the modern Kara-Agatch, in a similar open, fertile, high-lying valley a few miles east of Anaboura. Thence the army would penetrate through the Aulon which leads from Bey-Sheher to Seidi-Sheher, and conducts the river from the one lake, Karalis, to the other, Trogitis. This Aulon, fringed by hilly country on each side, could not be seriously defended by the Pisidian or Lycaonian population (even if they wished to do so) against a Roman army led by a skilful and careful general, for it is broad enough; though in a similar Aulon (which leads up from the north-eastern end of the Limnai) a great and splendid Byzantine army was cut to pieces by the Turks in A.D. 1176, owing to the headstrong folly and careless contempt for all military precautions shown by the autocrat Manuel Comnenus. The occupation of the whole valley of lake Trogitis presented no difficulty to the Roman troops, and this may be assigned to the first months of the campaign in 10 B.C. From this point on began the real difficulties. In all probability the Homanadeis made no serious attempt to defend the Trogitis valley. The Roman forces were overwhelming, and the tribesmen had no permanent residence in the valley (see § 4), much less any fortress; but they had full warning of the great attack, and were prepared to defend their mountain strongholds to the last.

(1) Strabo (as mentioned § 4) gives in one brief sentence a picture of the course of the war. The mountains formed a natural wall of defence for the country,² and the tribesmen had a refuge in their own almost inaccessible land. The victory of Quirinius was gained largely by starving the enemy, and this implies a long slow war, for each fortified place in succession had to be captured. Of these natural fortresses there were forty-four, as we shall see, and each was reduced by the same process of surrounding and starving out the garrison. No man of military age was left in the country, but 4,000 were taken captive and were settled in neighbouring cities.

¹ It is true that Strabo about A.D. 20 does not mention Neapolis as one of the cities of Pisidia, but his list is taken direct from Artemidoros and therefore really belongs to an earlier time: he had not himself seen or travelled in this region of Pisidia, and he was depending on the excellent authority of Artemidoros. In a sense Anaboura and Neapolis are sister-towns which belong to the same district, lying between the valley of the Anthios and the lake country of Karalis, and traversed by a Via Sebaste of Augustus, made about 6 B.C. which here followed the long-existing line of an ancient highway very important in the Hellenistic time. The remarks which I have made

on the date of Neapolis in *Athen. Mitth.* 1883, p. 75 f. require therefore to be modified; and the town of Neapolis may be older than there allowed on the wrong assumption that Strabo's list is authoritative in respect of 20 A.D. Perhaps Neapolis and Anaboura represented the newer Hellenistic and the older Pisidian tendency respectively; but the inscriptions of Anaboura (all late) are numerous and entirely Graeco-Roman in character.

² I have often had occasion elsewhere to speak of the remarkable steepness with which the Taurus rises like a wall from the Lycaonian part of the plateau. There are few breaks in the wall, and these present only difficult access.

Strabo distinctly implies that, while the Homanadensian people cultivated the fertile plain around Trogitis, they did not reside in it, but retired to their mountain fastnesses after the operations of agriculture were completed. It is, however, probable that an exception is to be made. There was one place, viz. the seat and centre of the divine power, which is more likely to have been situated in (or close to) the rich fertile plain. The gods did not require the protection of walls and fortifications whether natural or artificial; and they loved the fertile land and the great estates. In many other cases, e.g. at the great Hittite capital in northern Cappadocia, the sanctuary was outside the fortified city at some little distance among the rocks. It is indeed true that the goddess preferred the mountains, and naturally the god, her servant and companion, was with her; but her home was near the rich lands. That was the case at Pisidian Antioch, and may be taken as characteristic of Anatolian custom. The sanctuary therefore was probably situated on a hill close to the plain of Trogitis, and the site may yet be discovered; but it is to be distinguished from the forty-four fortresses of the people; on this point we possess a special authority which has never been taken into account in any study of the war.

(2) Important evidence about the Homanadensian war lies concealed in a passage of Pliny, *N.H.* v, 94 :

Ciliciae Pamphyliam omnes iunxere neglecta gente Isaurica . . . Simili modo omnibus, qui eadem composuere, ignorata est contermina illi gens Omanadum, quorum intus oppidum Omana : cetera castella xliiii inter asperas convalles latent.¹

Evidently there lies behind this passage an account of the war, in which the town Homana and the forty-four fortified townships or villages captured by Quirinius were mentioned. Records of cases in which the *ornamenta triumphalia* were conferred were included (as I assume) in the *Acta Triumphorum* (which Pliny mentions as an authority used in this book, but not in iv or vi which are of similar character).² Such seems to have been his authority.

It would be possible to regard the whole statement as either derived from some historian, or even as taken from the statistics, collected by order of Agrippa; but we may reasonably doubt whether statistics of the unconquered tribal territory were included in the collection of geographical facts compiled for the Roman empire by orders of Agrippa (not later than 12 B.C.). If Pliny used the account given by a Roman historian, this statement rested ultimately on the *Acta Triumphorum* or some other official Roman record (e.g. a decree of the senate).

¹ The reading of the proper names is treated in §8. I give Mayhoff's text.

² *Acta* (not *Triumph.*) are quoted as an authority in vii : doubtless *Acta P.R.*

Pliny's statement may be roughly paraphrased: 'All the geographical authorities, just as they have left out of count the Isaurican tribe between Cilicia and Pamphylia, so also have ignored the conterminous tribe of the Omanades, to whom belongs an inland town Omana, besides forty-four fortified villages lying in rough broken country apart from the lines of communication or intercourse,' i.e. Omana on the plateau of central Anatolia, and forty-four *castella* in the Taurus region.

This paragraph, with its pointed criticism of all previous authorities on the subject, is intended to be recognised by the reader as Pliny's own. It falls into two parts: the second, about the Homanadeis, is a simple statement of name, numbers and situation, highly valuable for the facts recorded, though not justifying the accusation of error brought by Pliny against all previous geographers. In truth both writers base their knowledge on the war: Strabo gives a geographer's statement,¹ and Pliny a dry statistician's record. Strabo probably heard from an officer who had seen the situation and the events: Pliny draws from either the *Acta Triumphorum* or the meagre summary of some historian. By combining the two we have an unusually excellent, though quite general, history of the war.

That this is really the character of Pliny's §94 is shown by consideration of the first part of the section. He is proud of his superior knowledge, which implies that he had here some excellent authority, absolutely decisive if rightly understood. The error of interpretation which he made in the first half of the section proves definitely the high character of his special authority at this point, and explains why he was so confident in his correction of the supposed error of all predecessors (see Appendix ii).

An argument adduced by Zumpt against the opinion that the Tiburtine Fragment relates to the career of Quirinius is that the Homanadensian war, conducted against an obscure mountain tribe in a corner of the Taurus, could not have been so important as to earn two supplications and the triumphal ornaments for the victorious general.

The argument is based on our ignorance and does not rest on facts. We know so little about that tribe that we are apt to imagine the war as only a series of unimportant frontier skirmishes. As we study the facts, the importance of it begins to be seen: even the single tribe was far from easy to reduce (or elevate?) to the Roman standard of peace. Forty-five distinct sieges, each tedious because starvation of the garrison was the only feasible method of victory, were required. It will be objected that Amyntas had captured a large number of those fortresses; but he evidently relied on a surprise

¹ [Strabo was not known to Pliny: Anderson.]

attack with an army suddenly thrown upon the country, and he failed ; he was ignominiously captured, apparently surrounded and cut off in that difficult country. The Roman attack, on the other hand, was carefully prepared, and the tribe was ready to meet it with fortresses provisioned and garrisoned. The elaborate Roman preparations necessarily became known to the enemy.

Moreover, the war really meant the pacification of the whole northern Taurus tribes. We hear by chance from two geographers and from Tacitus only about one tribe ; and probably there was only one regular war ; but the victory required to be so complete and final as to strike terror into all the Taurus tribes and states, and make the southern frontier safe by transforming them all into submissive elements in the province Galatia. There was no longer a Taurus frontier ; all Pisidia with the Isauri and the Homanadeis were henceforth in reality, not merely in name (as had been the case in Pisidia previously), incorporated in the province, looking to Rome as their capital and assimilating the Graeco-Roman culture. The reorganisation which consummated the war extended along a district that measured at least 250 Roman miles from east to west, and this was traversed by a network of Roman roads and *coloniae* with the original *Colonia Caesarea* (Antioch) as their military and administrative centre.

(3) The third brief authority lies in the words of Tacitus, *Annales*, iii. 48, *consulatum sub divo Augusto, mox expugnatis super Ciliciam Homanadensium castellis insignia triumphi adeptus*.¹ Tacitus describes the capture of the *castella*² as the most important feature of the war, therein entirely confirming Pliny. He also describes the awarding of the triumphal ornaments as the reward of victory, therein decisively disproving the view championed by Zumpt (as above mentioned), that such a war was not important enough to deserve such awards : if it qualified for a triumph, surely it might have also qualified for preceding supplications. It is hardly safe to argue from Tacitus's expression *mox* that the Homanadensian war followed very quickly (as we hold) after the consulate without any interval ; *mox* is used quite widely by Tacitus ; but in this case there is some justification for interpreting the sentence as implying sequence of the war on the consulate, which was the necessary preliminary.

(4) The account in the *lapis Tiburtinus*, as restored by Mommsen,

¹ It is necessary with Mommsen and Nipperdey to read *super Ciliciam* and not *per Ciliciam*. The latter words would imply that the Homanadeis extended over various parts of Cilicia, but it is clear from the words of Strabo and Pliny that they were situated not exactly in Cilicia but on the Cilician frontier and on very high ground which might justifiably be called 'above and outside of Cilicia.' Nipperdey quotes the expression from

Nepos *Dat.* 4, 1, *Cataoniam, quae gens iacet supra Ciliciam* : the situation is similar. The reading *super* is also justified by the expression of Strabo, 668, *ἥς ὑπέρεκται ὁ Ταῦρος* (i.e. *Κιλικίας*).

² He probably took *castella* from the same excellent authority from which Pliny derived that technical term. Tacitus certainly used authorities of that class.

is [legatus pr. pr. Divi Augusti Syriacas legiones optinens bellum gessit cum gente Homonadensium quae interfecerat Amyntam Galatarum re]gem, qua redacta in pot[estatem Imp. Caesaris] Augusti Populique Romani Senatus [dis immortalibus] supplicationes binas ob res prosp[ere ab eo gestas, et] ipsi ornamenta triumph[alia decrevit]: proconsul Asiam provinciam op[tinuit, etc.

The Latin word *castellum* was evidently used in Roman times (as Pliny and Tacitus show) on the south Galatic frontier (and perhaps more widely in Anatolia) to denote those hill strongholds, which were characteristic of the Taurus hills and high lands. There are many modern survivals of the name: (1) Kestel in Milyas beside the lake north of Payam Agatch; (2) Kestel south-west of Ladik in the outer fringe of the Orondian mountain-region. In both these cases there was probably an unfortified village beside the fortress in a more convenient situation; and the villagers distinguished the neighbouring *castellum* from their ordinary residence; (3) The site of Vasada was on Kestel-Dagh; (4) Kestel is a village with ruins and a mediaeval church, four hours north of Mut (Claudiopolis) on the road to Karaman (Laranda). It lies on open elevated ground, but there is abundant opportunity for a *castellum* close to it. Doubtless other instances occur: those which I remember are all in Taurus or in the hills that stretch out to the north from Taurus.¹

§7. *The Conclusion of the War.*—The most certain thing about the war is the issue. The Homanadeis were conquered completely and finally. There is no further record of trouble or difficulty on this frontier for a very long period. The Taurus tribes as a whole were fully pacified in the Roman sense. The difficulties of later years on the plateau of Anatolia originated no longer from the south as in previous years, but from the east. The Parthians, the 'Scythians,' and other barbarous tribes of Central Asia, were always pressing on the rich and cultivated lands of the Roman empire in Anatolia; they were kept back by the able administration of the second century, resting on the defensive lines along the Euphrates frontier (first constructed by Vespasian, who reorganised Cappadocia and Armenia Minor as a great military province)²; but in the disorganisation of the third century these attacks from the east were pressed, and barbarian armies penetrated right across the plateau even as far as the low lands adjoining the Aegean Sea. During this time, however, there is not a word about troubles on the Taurus frontier; such troubles are hardly mentioned again until the fourth century; and this peace is a tribute to the completeness of the victory gained

¹ The Roman term *Kastron*, also in *Palaiokastro*, *Neokastro*, etc. is frequent in the Greek parts of Anatolia.

² He united them with Galatia (diminished on the south-east, where a part of *Pisidia* was included in the praetorian province *Lycia-Pamphylia*), and this huge consular province lasted c. 74–115 A.D.

by Quirinius, and to the ability and skill shown in the reorganisation of the southern frontier of the province Galatia by Servilius and his successor, Cornutus (Arruntius) Aquila, with Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch) as the great administrative centre of the military system on this side. While the organisation of such a system directed from Antioch was necessary as a completion of the victory, its very success prevented it being permanent. A military system persists only so long as it is required, but gradually falls into desuetude when the need for it has ceased. Such was the case with Antioch. Beginning as an important military stronghold in the last twenty-five years B.C. it changed into a city of quite peaceful type and wealth during the first century A.D.; and the Augustan military colonies lost their soldierly character, and melted into the Anatolian population, losing distinctive Roman character and ceasing to use familiarly the Roman speech.

Tacitus indeed mentions two slight disturbances under Claudius and Nero among the Kietai; but they were in Cilicia Tracheia looking towards the southern sea, and subject to a client king, first Archelaos and afterwards Antiochus. In both cases Syrian troops were employed to put down the disturbance. It is interesting to note that in the former insurrection the cause lay in the fact that they were forced to submit to a census A.D. 34 of Roman fashion (*Ann.* vi, 41). In the second disturbance it was found that cavalry were of no use, and infantry were required: the territory of the Kietai is here described as reaching nearly to the city of Anemurium (*Ann.* xii, 55).

The account given by Strabo shows that the subjugation of the Homanadenses was gained by cruel but thorough means. No grown men of the rebellious tribe were left in the country; a new generation remained to grow up accustomed to Roman rule. Those stern measures were quite in keeping with the character of Quirinius, and were indeed prescribed by the traditional policy of Rome in dealing with a stubborn enemy of this kind. Such was the imperial system.

It is a plausible conjecture that after the war the Homanadensian territory was divided between at least two principal townships or city-states, Homanada overlooking the eastern bank of lake Trogitis, and Dalisandos (which became a polis and struck coins), in the valley on the north-west end of the lake. In this position Dalisandos would be more open to Hellenisation; and as a matter of fact it alone in the whole Homanadensian region struck coins of the commune of the Lycaonians, after the mass of southern Lycaonia was united with Isauria and Cilicia in the Triple Eparchy. No city or state except Dalisandos had any coinage in the vast extent of country between Colonia Parlais on the north, Colonia Lustra (Lystra) on north-east, Isaura east, the coast towns south, and Hetenna (Etenna) west; and Dalisandos declares itself part of

Lycaonia. This is an important and fundamental fact in social and economic history, as well as in geography. It is difficult to see where this coin-striking city could possibly be except in the valley of Trogitis.¹

The division of the territory of the conquered tribe was in accordance with the Roman policy, *divide et impera*. Similarly (perhaps at this same general settlement), the adjoining tribe on the west was made into Katenneis and Hetenneis, varieties of one name.² In the unity of the tribe lay its strength. Division caused weakness. The division cannot be proved in actual existence until it appears in the Byzantine lists of bishoprics; but the opinion is reasonable that it originated at the settlement in 7-6 B.C. (See *H.G.A.M.* p. 335, etc.).

It may be inferred from Strabo that the centre of Homanadensian history was in the valley of lake Trogitis. On the south and south-west of the level, often marshy, plain the surrounding country is very mountainous; on the east and north it is only rough and hilly. The principal centre on the eastern hills was a town situated at the modern village Namusa; and in an inscription found by Sterrett there the expression is used by the local Demos 'us and our fellow tribesmen' (*ἡμᾶς και τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς ἡμῶν*). The Ethnos³ was the *Οὐμαναδεῖς*; but the special Demos (explicitly part of the Ethnos) calls itself *Sedaseis*. The division of the tribe into demoi is an interesting fact, but need not necessarily be regarded as older than the Roman period at the reorganisation by Quirinius. There can be hardly any doubt that Namusa was one principal seat of the Homanadeis, but there were other demoi.⁴ As to the northern limits we infer them from Messrs Jüthner, Svoboda, and their colleagues in 1902. The country along the Aulon (through which runs the Irmak from Karalis to Trogitis) was not Homanadensian. For the southern limit there is no evidence. On the west the Homanadeis reached to the territory of Katenna and Selge (as Strabo says). They bordered Isauria on the east.

§8. *The Name of the People and the Township*.—The exact spelling of the tribal or town-name is not certain: often there were in use (even contemporaneously) various ways of expressing in Greek letters an Anatolian name; for the Greek alphabet did not adequately represent Anatolian pronunciation. Strabo, an excellent authority, but too apt to give strongly grecised forms to Asiatic names, uses the form *Οὔμαναδεῖς*, which would correspond to a Latin *Homnadenses*. Pliny, v, 94 describes as adjoining the Isaurican tribe a tribe *Omanades*,

¹ *Pisidia-Lycaonia*, p. 265.

² See § 8, paragraph 2.

³ *H.G.A.M.* p. 335; Sterrett, *W.E.* 240.

⁴ Even the unified Athenian state in the period

of most perfect *synoikismos* was divided into demoi; but among the newly conquered tribe Quirinius was probably not desirous of establishing perfect unity. The demoi were not parts of a true polis.

who possess a town in the inner country, Omana, together with forty-four *castella*, i.e. fortified villages, situated in rough and broken country.¹ This evidently indicates that the *castella* were in the Taurus mountain land, and the *oppidum* in the inner country of the central plateau, i.e. in the valley of, or the hills above, lake Trogitis (as we gather from Strabo). Strabo distinguishes the inner country, i.e. the plateau with its hills and plain, from the great bordering and separating region of Taurus, which is a lofty mountain land, or very elevated plateau, overhanging both the sea-plains of Cilicia and Pamphylia on the one side, and the central plateau on the other. The Isauri are a Lycaonian tribe on the north front of Taurus. The Lycaonians and the Phrygians are to Strabo inhabitants of the central plateau. The Humanadeis are actually called Cilicians by him (xii, 6, 3, p. 569).² The Pamphyloi, while partaking strongly of the Cilician character (xii, 7, 2), are racially distinct, according to Strabo, from them.

There is little authority apart from Strabo for the initial H in this word, but, as most authorities use Greek letters, the rough breathing readily was replaced by the smooth. In Strabo, as we see below, there was probably some tendency to assimilate the name to the Greek word 'Ομόνοια; but, even allowing for this tendency, the initial H is probably correct. We have here one of a class of cases in which an initial guttural was represented sometimes by K and sometimes by H. The old Anatolian word was Homana or Komana. This may be regarded as an Anatolian (or Hittite) word possessing a sacred connotation, as the name either of the divine nature, or of some local manifestation or accompaniment of the divine power. There is no case known in which the forms Komana and Homana occur as varieties of the name of one place, but I would quote the detailed and conclusive proof given in *H.G.A.M.* p. 418 f. that the towns Katenna and Etenna are really two variations of the same name, and that Etenna should be spelled Hetenna.³ These two bishoprics of the Byzantine time adjoined one another, and in all

¹ The text of Pliny (which has the genitive form here, *gens Omanadum*) is very uncertain as regards the spelling of proper names. Mayhoff's text is given above, §7; there is manuscript authority for Humanadum (which comes close to the Byzantine Oumanada, Cumanada, see p. 269).

² Perhaps Str. should be interpreted as meaning (what is very probable in itself) that Cilician tribes of Tracheia allied themselves with the Homanadeis against Amyntas: the sympathy of those Tracheiote mountaineers was certainly against Amyntas and the Romans, and this was a difficulty against which Quirinius had to be prepared.

³ Waddington considers that the names Katenna and Hetenna are varieties of the name of one town or tribe; but the Byzantine proof is complete

that there were two bishoprics. Hirschfeld follows Waddington (*Reisebericht in Berl. Monatsb.* 1875).

The omission of the Semitic initial CH in various Greek words has been discussed by Lewy, *Semitische Fremdwörter in Griech.* Berlin, 1895, and Keller, *Berliner Phil. Woch.* 1896, p. 118; also Keller, *Volksetymologie*, p. 196. Compare the Lycian Idubossos with the central Phrygian Kiduessos (i.e. IduWessos, KiduWessos). Sayce in a private letter regards the Lycaonian personal name Tarasis as TarHasis for TarKasis a derivative from the divine name Tarku, and the modern Marash as an ancient form Markas.

The subject is too large for a footnote, or for the writer's knowledge; but all writers on the relation of West Asian and Greek names must take account of it.

probability they are two parts of one people which gradually formed into two separate divisions or townships, and they also, in losing the original unity and local government expressed through the religious centre, tended to break up into tribes, exactly as did the Homanadenses.

It would be an easy supposition that in Pliny Omana (Homana) is broken down in the transmission of the text from Omanada, but the easiest supposition is not necessarily the right one. It is best to start from his testimony that there was an *oppidum* Omana and a tribe Omanades.

The evidence of the Byzantine lists in the Notitiae and in Hierocles is far from unanimous, as there are considerable variations in the different authorities. The lists of bishops at the councils have been published in a very inadequate and unsatisfactory fashion. The Byzantine evidence, however, is extremely valuable in regard to Anatolian names, because in general, where it can be determined, it gives a nearer approximation to the local pronunciation and is less subject to grecisation than the names in the earlier authorities such as Strabo, Pliny, etc. Taking the evidence as a whole, the variations point definitely to a form Oumanada (Hierocles): in the Notitiae it appears usually in the genitive plural Οὐμανάδων. Many of the variations are due to textual corruption.¹ It is evident that the Byzantine forms are based on the name of a township or city, not on the name of a tribe.

The variation as regards the first vowel between Strabo and the Byzantine authorities is due to the difficulty of expressing exactly in Greek letters a certain Anatolian vowel sound. There are many cases in which both o and ou are employed in different Greek authorities to represent the same Anatolian vowel, which apparently halted between the one sound and the other. Mayhoff's text of Pliny agrees in this vowel with Strabo; but there is some slight authority for the spelling Humanades. There is also authority for the spelling HOM in Pliny in the name of the tribe and the township.² The spelling of the second syllable ON in Strabo may be due to the tendency towards assimilation of vowels, or to that other tendency (so frequently seen in the Greek representation of Anatolian names) to seek a form which seemed to resemble a Greek word: Homonadeis was made to resemble the Greek Ὁμόνοια (just as after the same fashion the town of Oura in Cilicia-Tracheia, of which the native pronunciation was probably something approximating to Ourwa, was grecised as Olba, Olbia, with obvious reference to the Greek ὄλβος, ὄλβιος).

A very remarkable variation appears in the lists of the council

¹ Οὐμάνδων, Ὁγομάνδων, Νοομυμάνδων, are mere clerical blunders. Μανάδων may be a true form, shortened from the older form given above, as

popular pronunciation dropped the unaccented first syllable.

² Cumanada occurs, see p. 269.

held in A.D. 536, *Οὐμανενδεωτῶν*, the genitive of the ethnic.¹ The spelling at the councils is frequently closer to the popular pronunciation and even more instructive than the spelling of the official lists of bishoprics (*Notitiae*),² implying the name of the township Oumanenda (possibly a mere clerical error for Oumananda, but perhaps a real variety regarding pronunciation), agreeing with the general run of Byzantine authorities except in the variation *ANDA*³ for *ADA*. This variation in the names of towns with or without nasalisation is extremely common and thoroughly characteristic of Anatolian names, e.g. two neighbouring towns in Lycaonia occur as *Vasada*, *Vasanda*, and *Amblada*, *Amilanda*. The phenomenon is so widespread as to need no further comment. In the Greek attempts to represent the pronunciation of ancient Anatolia, the nasal is inserted or omitted, especially before a dental, and in general before other consonants. There existed in this pronunciation various nasalised vowels, and these are represented in the Lycian and Lydian alphabets by a variety of symbols which have constituted a great difficulty in the interpretation of the two alphabets. When words in which the nasalised vowel occurred were represented with Greek symbols according to the Greek alphabet, the nasalisation could not be exactly rendered in Greek: sometimes it is omitted entirely, sometimes it is represented by *N* (*M*). It is evident that a pronunciation like this did not lend itself to the Greek system of accentuation. The nasalisation of the vowel involved a certain dwelling of the voice on it, but this was something quite different from the force of the accent in Greek. It was also not the same as metrical length, so that it did not correspond exactly to a long syllable in Greek metre. It is therefore impossible to apply Greek accent with proper accuracy to Anatolian names either personal or geographical, and it would be advisable to write these, even when they are spelled in Greek letters, without marking Greek accents according to Greek rules.

It follows then that in *Homonada* *DA* or *ADA* is to be understood, not as part of the root word, but as added to it; and a form *Houmana* (*Homana*) must be assumed as lying behind and prior to *Houmanada*. Thus we are brought by the Byzantine evidence to an almost exact agreement with Pliny. There was a form *Homana* or *Houmana*, and there was also a name which is regarded by the Byzantine authorities as a township *Oumanada* or *Oumananda*, and by Pliny as a tribe *Oumanades*. With regard to this added element *DA* it must be left uncertain whether it is merely a suffix, or has a distinct force as a separate word. In the latter case it might be

¹ Compare *Κωρυκιώτης*, *Ἀκρασιώτης*, *Σιδαμ-
ριώτης*, *Κιβυρράιωτης*.

commonly expressed as, the signatures written by the bishops.

² The lists at the councils are taken from, and

³ The pronunciation sometimes faded to *INDA* in this suffix.

regarded as the Phrygian (and perhaps Anatolian) word *DA* or *DAN*,¹ meaning earth, land, country, as in *Ouroda* beside *Oura* ; but in the most certain instance of that word, viz. in the local name *Gdanmaa*, an initial *G* is certain, corresponding to the Greek word *χθών*. It is therefore perhaps most probable that *DA* or *NDA* is to be regarded simply as a formative suffix. With regard to the difference in gender and number between the endings of many names of towns, *ADA*, *ANDA*, and *ANDOS*, this is probably to be understood as merely a fact of grecisation. The Greeks hesitated whether to regard the town name as a singular or as a neuter plural. Sometimes they chose the one form, sometimes the other, and sometimes they halted doubtfully between the two.²

This long disquisition about a name and its insignificant variations may seem trifling, but it leads back to an important fact in old civilisation. The historical truth is clear that, whereas in the early Roman period the important factor was a scattered tribe ruled by a tribal chief or tyrannos, in older time the primitive Anatolian fact was a community, not a tribe. This community cannot properly be called a *polis*, because that name was restricted by accurate authorities like Strabo to a township possessing a more or less Hellenised system of organisation. The community was rather of a religious character. In the last resort, where we can trace back Anatolian facts to an early time, we are led to the goddess or the god as the power whose sway and will give unity to the population of a district, and constitute a central authority from which the whole district is directed. The Graeco-Roman period of Anatolia presents to us the breaking down and disintegration of an older well-knit system into a loosely organised tribal association (in so far as the Hellenic or Graeco-Roman polis-system was not adopted). Originally there was a certain kind of local self-government according to districts, which in each case found their unifying authority in the divine power.

Generally in Anatolia, especially in the south and south east,³ the investigator is struck with the fact that, in going backward along the path of history towards early time, he reaches a period in which there was not a scattered, disorganised, ill-regulated population in separate warring tribes, but a system of order in distinct townships or districts, each constituting a separate theocratic unity, where to all appearance the divine rule maintained a certain degree of peace both within the limits of each unity and in the general international relations. There was a certain intertribal law operating in time of peace to

¹ See Fraser, *Trans. Phil. Soc. Camb.* 1912.

² It is quite probable (as in *H.G.A.M.* p. 334) that in the Hellespontine *Blados* and the Lydian *Blaundos* the original Anatolian is *MLADA* for *AMLADA*, which appears in many variations as

Amblada, *Amilanda*, *Ampelada*, etc. *Polychalandos* of Lydia (ch for b) occurs A.D. 359 (*H.G.A.M.* p. 128).

³ We know most about the south. The truth is doubtless universal in the peninsula.

facilitate intercourse, trade and markets, and in time of war to regulate and mitigate the extremes to which war can be carried.

Now, with regard to the name Komana (Homana) of the central town (oppidum, Pliny) of the tribe, Komana is known as a home and sacred site of the goddess both in Cappadocia and in Pontus. The suggestion might be considered that Komama in Pisidia is the same name, for the transition from N to M was not unknown in Anatolia (as is apparent from the remarkable example of the ancient Synavos, the modern Simav).¹ This, however, is uncertain and improbable. There could be no real foundation for another possible idea, that the Pisidian or Phrygian Konana is the same word subjected to a certain process of assimilation of consonants. Konana has retained its name to the present day under the form Geunen, and this form with two N's is therefore definitely fixed as the local pronunciation. The three names, Komana, Komama, Konana, are best treated as distinct words; and the similarity springs from some cause connected with the very peculiar character of the Anatolian speech, which can be in some small degree appreciated from Kretschmer's *Einleitung in die Gesch. d. griech. Sprache*. The remarkable feature about Kretschmer's book is its title and point of view. In truth Anatolian is non-Hellenic, pre-Hellenic, and even anti-Greek, although there is a strong admixture of Anatolian words in Greek, and some remarkable similarities due to geographical contiguity. The question remains most urgent and important in ancient history: Who were the old Ionians, the sons of Yavan.²

With this supposed divine name Komana and its derivative Homanada, the place or town or home of the goddess herself, or of some manifestation of her power, it is natural to compare many similar names in the immediate neighbourhood, e.g. Amla-da, the place of Amla (variants Amblada and Amilanda, etc.); also Vasa-da, the place of Vasa (the variants Vasanda and Basanda also occur in the Notitiae), Artanada on the upper Kalykadnos (Sterrett, p. 54), etc.

As to the true form of the name Koumana-da, the subscriptions to the Nicene Council furnish strong confirmation of this view, especially the Latin lists (see C. H. Turner's admirable edition). In general the lists (and especially those which are expressed as actual signatures) of bishops present at the various councils held in the East afford extremely valuable evidence about the current local pronunciation of Anatolian names; but the editions are far from satisfactory (always excepting C. H. Turner's Latin Nicene Council).

Following Turner's classification, Class I, smannandron, smanandron,

¹ Perhaps also Prostanna, Prostana, in Ptolemy Prostama (the latter form is not a mere scribal error: Prostanensis at Constantinople A.D. 381, defends Ptolemy, *H.G.A.M.* p. 407).

² This remains the critical question in the early history of west Asia: so I wrote to Wilamowitz many years ago.

etc. go back probably to a form *Κύριλλος Ὑμανάνδων* (genitive plural of town) or perhaps *Οὐμανάνδων*.¹

Class II *cumanadensis*, *cumadensis*, *commandensis*, implies an original K, *Κυμαναδεύς*, or *Κομαναδεύς*. The same is the case with Class III, *cumanadensis*, *comanadensis*, *cumanatensis*, *cumadanensis*, *commanadensis*.

Class IV is remarkable and stands apart, mentioning a different bishop and a different town, viz. *quintus timanodorum*, *timanedor(um)*, *timainidorum*, *tymanodorum*, and one manuscript *quartus tymapodorum*: these go back to a bishop *Κύντος Τυμάνδων* (a city of Pisidia on which much might be said: it was a discovery of Sterrett's, and has since been unearthed from several late documents, and found to underlie Ptolemy's Talbonda): on the identity of Tymandos and Talbonda see *H.G.A.M.* p. 402 and *C.I.L.* iii, 6866.² With this evidence it seems indubitable that Quintus of Tymandos and Cyrillus of Cumananda have been confused and made into one bishop of one city.³ There are several cases of this, some of which are treated in Appendix iii. One manuscript of this fourth class⁴ actually contains the two bishops Quirillus Comanadensis and Quintus Timanodorum. This gives the original and true text; but the resemblance of the two pairs of names has led to the elimination of one or other.

Class V *quirillus numadis* is so corrupt as to give no help in any of its variations (which are confined to the bishop's name).⁵ The following bishop, Theodorus of Vasada, is omitted in most manuscripts of this class, so that there was some early mutilation or corruption at this point.⁶

It seems indubitable that these classes are not all derived from the same list of signatures: some are taken from the form *Κύριλλος Κουμαναδεύς*, others from the form *Κύριλλος Οὐμανάδων* (or *-άνδων*): both forms were in common use,⁷ adjectival and with gen. of city name. In some later councils several or even many lists of signatures occur in different parts of the Acta of the same council, and the same bishop often expresses his diocese in different ways or spellings.

¹ Possibly *Οὐμανάνδων*. The intrusion of *ρ* seems due to some peculiarity of Anatolian pronunciation, a soft semi-vocalic *R*, differing from the Greek *rho*, involving difficulty and variation of expression in Greek letters: take for example Sinianos, Sinethandos, Sintrianos, on which see my paper *Pisidia-Lycaonia*.

² The elements *ANDOS*, *ONDA*, are identical (see p. 267). There remains *TALB* and *TUM*, in which *B=M* and *L* may be (like *R*, see preceding note) intruded.

³ That there was only one bishop and one bishopric is the view taken by Turner, who says 'idem est episcopus Quintus Quirillus eiusdem civitatis comanadensis timanodorum.' This opinion is the simplest; but it is not always the simplest that is right in such matters. [Since I wrote as precedes

Mr. Turner tells me that he is disposed to take my view, which is based on I. the best manuscript; I. often stands alone and right.]

⁴ Codex Ingilrami ep. Teatini nunc Vaticanus Reginae, 1997: saec. IX (C. H. T. who quotes it as I).

⁵ The Greek original was perhaps *Κύριλλος Μαναδεύς* or *Μαμανδεύς*.

⁶ The manuscripts of this Class V (even those which give here some corrupt form of Vasada) also insert at the end of Pisidia (C. H. T. no. 155) Theodorus of the bishopric uis or viis. Classes III, IV give a similar Theodorus as no. 155. Classes I, II omit him.

⁷ Another very common form is exemplified at the council held in 536, *ὁ Οὐμανενδεωτῶν*, the (bishop) of the people of Houmanenda.

In all probability the following bishops may be enumerated, signing at different points of the proceedings in different ways.

- 182 Κύριλλος Ούμανάνδων, Κουμαναδεύς, Μανανδεύς
 183 [182 Turner] Κούντος Τυμάνδων
 184 [183 Turner] Θεόδωρος Ούασάδων
 185 [183 Turner] Θεόδωρος Ulsabitanus, Vialbitanus (Olba ?).
 186 [184 Turner] Ἀνατόλιος χωρεπίσκοπος
 187 [185 Turner] Παῦλος Λαρανδεύς

A speculation may be permitted with regard to the origin of these names. (1) As to the name which immediately concerns us, that of Homana or Homanada. It may be taken as established with reasonable certainty that the original form of the name was something like Homna-Komna or Houmna-Koumna with a weak vowel creeping in between M and N. We also take it as in the highest degree probable that all these names had some relation to religion, referring to facts or rites or products or trees or flowers etc. associated with divine power. Now, in the dedications inscribed at the sanctuary of Mên above Pisidian Antioch, I have in two cases restored the name Hymnêtês (unfortunately in both cases the text is mutilated), and have treated this as a variation of the term Hymnôdos which was applied to the members of certain religious associations known at various points in Asia Minor (see *C. B. Phr.* ii, p. 630).¹ Both are grecised forms and both go back to a word which had a form approximating to Houmna with a suffix. I take Houmna-Koumna to be an Anatolian word which was adopted in Greek as ὕμνος. The religious centre was called Houmnada as the place of religious songs (set to music). There was a manifestation of the divine power as the director and conductor of the songs, Houmn or Koumn (Homn-Komn), who was invoked at Greek marriages as Ὑμνην, ὦ Ὑμέναιε ἀναξ: the religious part of the marriage ritual was pre-Hellenic and identical with the Anatolian and Cretan (i.e. west-Asian and Aegean generally).² Is κομμός, a song with music, falsely identified with κομμός *planctus*, and really κομν- the Anatolian word?

(2) As to the name Amlada which appears in so many different forms. Both Galen and Strabo refer to Amblada as famous for producing a particular class of wine; according to Galen this wine was specially useful in the treatment of certain classes of disease. We notice also that a form of the name appears frequently in the Tekmoreian lists, Ampelada. These facts point to the original Anatolian meaning of the name. Amlada is the place of the vine, where vines grew plentifully. That the cultivation of the vine was

¹ The generic term becomes a personal name (according to a frequent usage in every society, Miller, Baker, etc., so in Anatolia Devrish in modern times for Dervish, Λαχανῶς in ancient times for λαχανοπώλης).

² See my article on the 'Religion of Greece and Asia Minor,' in Hastings, *Dict. Bib.* v, p. 129: also on 'Phrygians' in Hastings, *Dict. of Eth. and Relig.* ix, p. 902.

very widespread in Anatolia is certain. It flourishes well both on the plateau and the lowlands, and has remained in cultivation to some extent even under the Turkish rule by Turks. I take Oinoanda as being the town where wine was produced, and Oinia between Synnada and Antioch is derived from the same name (Oino, or some form similar to this which was the origin of the Greek word). There was a harbour on the coast of Pontus called Oinoe at the mouth of the river Oinios, and there was also a town of the same name on the island of Icaria, about which the legend arose that it was a colony of the Attic town of the same name. There was also a river in the plain of Syrian Antioch called Oinobaras: and a group of islands between Scio and the west Anatolian coast were called Oinoussai. There is, however, no reason to think that the many similar place-names in Greece proper either gave origin to or received origin from the Anatolian names: they grew naturally in both countries. It is therefore probable that the vine and the product, which were introduced into Greece as exotic according to indubitable religious and mythological evidence, bore names of foreign and Anatolian origin. These show the importance of this element in geographical names of western Asia.¹ ἀμπελος comes from amla through ambla.

(3) As to Artanada it is obviously the place of Artanas, a Persian and perhaps Anatolian name.

§9. *The Administration of Syrian internal affairs during the War.*—

It must then be assumed as certain that Quirinius governed the province Syria at least 10–8 B.C. and probably 11–7 B.C. Now it is evident that during the conduct of this war it would be difficult for Quirinius to attend to the general business of a large province like Syria, and in particular the relations to Palestine, which was under a procurator subordinated in certain respects to the Syrian governor. We know that there were other *legati* governing Syria about this time, Marcus Titius, thereafter Sentius Saturninus during at least 8–7 B.C. and Quintilius Varus 6–4 B.C. Probably each of these officiated during the period of two or three years,² and they fill up the whole time with approximate completeness. It seems impossible to introduce the governorship of Quirinius in an interval between one and another of these governors, but there is every probability that at least Titius and Sentius were *legati* of Augustus under some form, looking after Syrian internal affairs. So e.g. when the great province of Cappadocia-Galatia existed, between A.D. 74 and 115, there were concurrently *legati* of higher and lower rank. Both classes are equally called *legati* of the great province,

¹ The plain west of Aleppo (as Professor Sayce tells me) was called Ouana. The wine-god was Ouan: hence Vangdibassin, Vangdamoas etc. personal names.

² There were many exceptions to the custom that *legati* of the emperor held a province for three years; and there is no difficulty in accepting a shorter tenure of office for any of these governors, if any argument for this could be found.

and a considerable degree of difficulty and doubt has been introduced by the double kind of official. Cumont in a well-known paper attempted to place them all in chronological order one after another, but the true solution of the difficulty is that sometimes or often there were two legati, consular and praetorian, officiating contemporaneously. The same was the case with Quirinius and Sentius and Titius. So again in the province of Africa, A.D. 74 or 75, there seem to have been two *legati* of Augustus in Africa charged with the special duty of revising the frontiers.¹

In this way the complete silence of Josephus about Quirinius's first governorship of Syria is readily explained. The Jewish historian mentions only governors who came into direct relations with the Jews, and thus influenced the history (*Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία*) which was his subject. Only a very imperfect list of Syrian governors could be compiled from his pages: some he passes in silence, others he mentions in his account of Jewish history, because they were factors in its development. Now the circumstances of the case removed Quirinius 11-7 B.C. from relations with Palestine. He was chosen for and fully engaged in war far away beyond the extreme north-western frontier of the province, and all concern with the Jews of Palestine was necessarily left to the other (inferior?) *legatus*. Hence we hear of Titius in Josephus, of C. Sentius Saturninus, and of Varus, all between 12 and 3 B.C. but not C. Caesar, nor Volusius Saturninus, 1 B.C.-A.D. 5. Quirinius in his second governorship A.D. 6-8, however, is mentioned by Josephus because he took direct and sharp action in Palestine. Many other Roman governors find no place in Josephus' pages.

There is a tendency among modern scholars to harden Roman custom into unvarying law. The empire was successful because, and so far as, it knew how to adapt and modify ordinary custom to suit exceptional circumstances. The essential facts in the cases here quoted are that two leg. Aug. pr. pr. sometimes co-operate in governing a province, and are even conjoined in the same act (although ordinarily the two had separate duties, doubtless), like Rutilius and Sentius in Africa (note 1), in addition to the proconsul of Africa.

A quaint proof of the complicity and difficulty of the subject appears in the tendency to admit little errors of detail. I have called Aemilia Lepida by the name Domitia Lepida (*Christ Born in Bethlehem*, p. 234). Mommsen even in the second edition of his *Res Gestae*, p. 169, which was wholly rewritten, quotes Strabo as his authority that Quirinius killed the king of the Homanadenses;

¹ A boundary stone is set up 'per Rutilium Gallicum cos. pont. et Sentium Caecilianum praetorem legatos Aug. pr. pr.', Cagnat, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad.* xxii (1894), p. 43; *A.E.* 1912,

no. 151. See Cheesman, p. 257. M. Bour (see §10) gives other examples showing great freedom of government in the provinces.

but Strabo says that Amyntas killed the tyrant of the tribe, and twice says that Amyntas was in turn caught and killed by the tyrant's widow or by the Cilicians (i.e. Homanadeis). Neither Strabo nor any other authority asserts that Quirinius killed the king.¹ Strabo, also, distinguishes between *τύραννος* and *βασιλεύς*, and it may be doubted whether the tyrant would have been called *regulus* or *rex* (as Mommsen says) even by the Romans, loose as they were in respect of such delicate foreign distinctions. Amyntas was a *rex*, and Mommsen in his second edition has recourse for other reasons to the right interpretation, that Amyntas was the *rex* who was killed according to the restored *lapis Tiburtinus*; yet he leaves the false statement in his latest text, doubtless by a mere slip. It was, however, by no slip in the first edition that the *rex* mentioned in the inscription was interpreted on Strabo's authority as having been slain by Quirinius.

§10. *The Career of Quirinius*, as a whole, may now be narrated with closer approximation to the ancient authorities than was previously possible. Mommsen, *Res. Gest. D. Aug.* ed. 2, pp. 166 ff. (who alludes to all important earlier literature), Ramsay, *Christ Born at Bethlehem*, 1898, pp. 227 ff.², Bour, *l'Inscription de Quirinius et le Recensement de St. Luc*, Rome, 1897, amongst others, may be mentioned here, the first of course, as the greatest authority (though we differ widely on details from him), the second as stating nearly, but not exactly, the same chronology³ as the following, the third as advocating a chronology nearer Mommsen, yet striving to champion the credibility of Luke ii, 2 against Mommsen's contemptuous rejection of it (in which Mommsen's reasoning has been definitely proved wrong by subsequent discovery).

1. 12 B.C. Quirinius consul *ordinarius* in Rome, January–July, went to the east in autumn, arranged co-operation with M. Servilius, governor of Galatia, in view of the coming war: was elected with Servilius chief magistrate of Pisidian Antioch for 11.

2. 11 B.C. C. Caristanius praefectus of the honorary duoviri Quirinius and Servilius at Antioch. Preparations for the war made in the provinces Syria and Galatia.

3. 10 B.C. First summer campaign of the war. The plain of lake Trogitis conquered and occupied: the beginning of effort

¹ This cannot be inferred even from the statement that Quirinius left the land *ἐρημὸν τῶν ἐν ἀκμῇ*, for 4000 captured men were settled in neighbouring cities, and the tyrannos might have been spared as a captive. This is indeed improbable; but Strabo has no statement anywhere that he was killed by Quirinius. His fate is left to conjecture. Augustus spared and treated well some kings who fought against him: this doubtless was skilful policy, as they might if spared be useful agents.

² The theory stated there was published in the *Expositor* 1895, and is mentioned by R. S. Bour in his work published before my book. The two treatises were written independently; but each thus can quote the other.

³ The chronology is there stated in a more tentative way than here (as the writer's first essay in a difficult subject); and it followed the principle of making the smallest possible change in Mommsen's conclusions.

against the mountaineers follows. Caristanius praefectus of the honorary duumvir [Nero Claudius Drusus ?] of Antioch.

4. 9 B.C. Nero Claudius Drusus, honorary duumvir for the second time at Antioch, with St. Pescennius as his praefectus. C. Caristanius actively engaged in the war as trib. mil. leg. XII Fulm. Drusus dies on 12th September. Posthumous honours bestowed on him including the title Germanicus. In Antioch the Ala Augusta, which was stationed there, is called after him Germaniciana.

5. 8 B.C. The 'first enrolment' of the Roman empire (Luke ii, 2) was conducted in this year, when Quirinius was governor of Syria : or according to Tertullian under Sentius Saturninus, who was administering the internal business of the province Syria, while Quirinius was busied with the war outside the province. The date of Sentius Saturninus is fixed 8-6 B.C. by Liebenam, *Legaten in d. Provinzen*, pp. 364 and 186.

6. 8-7 B.C. The war continues to its conclusion : the forty-four castella of the tribe reduced by famine. Caristanius promoted praefectus of Ala I Bosp. which was engaged in guarding the lower country, maintaining communications with Antioch as basis, etc. A regiment of cavalry, while unsuited to blockade the inaccessible mountain castella in the Taurus, was useful in this way. The escape of the Homanadeis to the south prevented by Roman troops on that side. Two supplications decreed by the senate between 10 and 7 to Quirinius, who leaves the province in 7 or 6 B.C. and is rewarded with triumphalia insignia.

7. 6 B.C. Organisation of the Pisidian and Homanadensian country. Five Augustan coloniae founded, Lustra, Parlais, Cremna, Comama, Olbasa. The Viae Sebastai constructed. Cornutus Arruntius Aquila governor of Galatia. Quintilius Varus governor of Syria. Tiberius, the future emperor, retires in disgrace to Rhodes, where at some time before his restoration to favour A.D. 2 he was visited by Quirinius, an act of courtesy which the fallen noble and future emperor always remembered.

8. 5-2 B.C. Quirinius proconsul of Asia. No other period is open except A.D. 4-6, which is highly improbable. The office was doubtless held for one year.

9. Mommsen's chronology (*R.G.* p. 177) shows nothing in the career of Quirinius between his consulship in the first half of 12 B.C. and his first governorship of Syria 3-2 B.C. Then, on this view, he was proconsul of Asia either 1 B.C. or c. A.D. 2-5 (probably for the year 2-3, visiting Rhodes to pay court to Tiberius on his way to Asia)¹ : in A.D. 3-4 he was with C. Caesar in Armenia : between A.D. 2 and

¹ Mommsen omits the probable, if not certain, fact that Marcius Censorinus governed Asia as proconsul in A.D. 2. This is generally admitted (see *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.*) : he died in Asia

about the same time as Lollius in Armenia, A.D. 2. Quirinius could not be his successor immediately, as he was sent to Armenia 2-4 on the death of Lollius.

4 he married Aemilia Lepida. The long idle interval in the career of a busy, able officer is highly improbable. The marriage while absent in Asia and Armenia is also improbable: a later marriage (suggested by Mommsen) is inconsistent with Tacitus, who speaks of the twentieth year.

10. A.D. 2. Lollius, tutor of C. Caesar in Armenia died. Quirinius was sent as his successor. To give him increased dignity, besides his long experience in Eastern commands, he was forthwith married to Aemilia Lepida, betrothed to L. Caesar (who died 20th August in this year). This may seem hurried, 'but the Romans of that period showed the minimum of delicacy in respect of marriages. As soon as the betrothed husband of a great heiress died, the place was open to reward some of Augustus's trusted servants.'¹ The marriage contracted in such circumstances was not happy. Quirinius divorced Aemilia Lepida, and in A.D. 20 brought an action against her as having tried to poison him. Popular sympathy for her was roused, as this trial took place in the twentieth year (after the marriage). It was really only the nineteenth year; but the populace spoke roundly of the twentieth.

11. A.D. 6-8. Quirinius governor of Syria for the second time. 'The enrolment' in Palestine and Syria was made (Acts v, 37).

12. A.D. 20. Q. accused Aemilia Lepida, his divorced wife, of attempting to poison him. M. Servilius, his old associate in the war, gives evidence in his favour: this was probably the mere support and *laudatio* which a Roman was always bound to give his friend.

13. A.D. 21. Death of Quirinius at an advanced age (*senex*). He left no children.

APPENDIX I. THE HOMANADEIS IN THE BYZANTINE LISTS.

The Byzantine division of the Homanadensian territory has some bearing on the issue of the war of Quirinius. The territory was so large that it contained at least two bishoprics, if not more. Moreover in some reorganisation of the provinces, possibly that of Diocletian about A.D. 295, and certainly later than A.D. 248, when Dalisandos was striking coins as a member of the Koinon of the Lycaonians, the territory of the tribe was divided between the provinces of Pamphylia and Isauria (or Lycaonia if the division took place later than A.D. 371). This in itself is conclusive as to the general situation. The tribe was situated on the borders both of Lycaonia and of Pamphylia, exactly as it is described by Strabo.

¹ Quoted from *Christ Born at Bethlehem*, p. 235.

Henceforward there was both a Pamphylian and a Lycaonian bishopric of Homanada : Dalisandos also was assigned to Pamphylia. Inasmuch as Hierocles does not include these two names in Pamphylia, it is possible that the division and redistribution of the Homanadensian territory took place in a reorganisation of the bishoprics by Justinian ; for, if we can lay any stress on the silence of Hierocles, the new system was not introduced in 530, while apparently it was in force at the council of A.D. 536. The silence of Hierocles, however, is not conclusive evidence, for he dealt rather freely with the excellent official lists which he used as authorities, and he might omit Homanada in Pamphylia on the ground that it was already mentioned in Lycaonia, and Dalisandos as mentioned in Isauria.¹ Still on the whole it is best to accept the authorities as far as possible and to say that probably the redistribution and division of the tribal territory took place shortly before A.D. 535.

The Pamphylian bishopric Homanada is mentioned in the council held at Constantinople in 536 and in all the Notitiae (which place it immediately before Dalisandos). This order suggests that the Pamphylian Dalisandos and the Pamphylian Homanada are one bishopric. They always occur together, and the correct form probably was *ὁ Οὐμανάδων ἥτοι Δαλισανδοῦ*. Similar duplications occur elsewhere in the Notitiae, e.g. Prymnessos and Nikopolis.

Dalisandos of the Homanadenses (or Dalisandos, i.e. Homanada), then, lay in such a position that it might be connected in the third century with the Koinon of Lycaonia, and at a later time with eastern Pamphylia ; a site at or near Seidi-Sheher would suit the conditions ; and no other suits the evidence.

Thus all different lines of reasoning lead to the same conclusion. The Roman coin-striking Dalisandos was near Seidi-Sheher : Lycaonia included Trogitis (as Strabo says) ; and therefore Seidi-Sheher was Lycaonian. The later Pamphylian bishopric Dalisandos-Homanada was on the west side of Trogitis at Seidi-Sheher, for Pamphylia could not extend to include the eastern side of the lake ; and the only possible site for a bishopric on the west side (which is close under the mountains, Sterrett, p. 134) is at or near Seidi-Sheher at the north-west corner of the lake, in a fertile land. The later bishopric Homanada of Lycaonia included the eastern half only of the tribal territory.

In *H.G.A.M.* my sketch of the topography of south-western Pisidia was distorted by the error about the site of Pappa. Then Misthia, etc. were pushed up too far north : the Orondian country was narrowed to its northern half ; Amblada and Vasada were misplaced. The discovery by Jüthner, Svoboda, etc. of Amblada and

¹ That there were two towns named Dalisandos is certain (*H.G.A.M.* p. 335). The Isaurian is called Lalisandos by Stephanus.

Vasada was a great stride in knowledge. Dalisandos then became certain (*Pisidia-Lycaonia*, p. 265). The general situation of the Homanadenses was always clear, but in *H.G.A.M.* it was placed too far north on the Aulon, and much exploration and the discovery of Isaura Nova were needed to make further progress possible.¹

APPENDIX II. PLINY'S DESCRIPTION OF THE ISAURICAN COUNTRY (v, 94).

This description forms the first part of that noteworthy paragraph in which he corrects all the older geographical authorities, and evidently plumes himself on his discovery of the truth. His account is a compilation, containing some knowledge gained from the excellent but of course inadequate record in the *Acta Triumphorum* of Servilius and Pompey, badly combined with vague ideas gained from earlier geographers. Servilius reduced the Isaurican country to accept terms of peace: Pompey conquered the Isaurican pirates by a short campaign, mainly naval: the geographers described rightly Cilicia and Pamphylia as conterminous, and the Isauri as an inland tribe with two townships Isaura, Palaia and Nea. Pliny assumed that the Isaurican country and people are the same in the *Acta* of both triumphs, and that this land must have been interposed between Cilicia and Pamphylia, reaching down to the sea *Anemuri e regione*, a phrase which cannot be understood except in a very vague and almost inaccurate way.² In other words, Pliny mixes up the Isauri in the common Roman sense (when this name was applied to all the pirate tribes on the coast of Cilicia Tracheia who ravaged the Mediterranean commerce until Pompey crushed them) with the true Isauri, an inland tribe on the north slopes of Taurus (a branch of the Lycaonians, as Strabo says), who were reduced by Servilius in 79-78 B.C. The common Roman usage extended this name Isauri to all the Tracheiotai, just as to the Romans Achaei were all the Greeks, Asians all the peoples of the Pergamenian realm, Galatai all those of Amyntas's kingdom, without regard to the ethnical distinctions of many tribes, nations and states involved in each case. The Greek geographers evidently described all the Tracheiotai as Kilikes and the Isauri as Lycaones (so e.g. Strabo, who states that as accepted). Yet Pliny accuses them of omitting the Isaurican *gens* between Cilicia and Pamphylia. The error is Pliny's; but it teaches much, when its origin is properly understood. Then with a vague bold sweep of the pen Pliny declares that the tribe Homanades too are left out of

¹ See 'Topography of Nov. Isaura' in *J.H.S.* 1905, p. 163: on its art see Miss Ramsay in *Studies in Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 1-90.

² In truth Pliny's conception of the facts and localities was inexact, and his words express his vague thoughts.

count (who also were to Strabo Cilicians adjoining Pisidia), and adds a valuable summary of their territory, derived from some excellent authority (as already shown).

The Isaurians of Servilius are the same people whom the Greek geographer Strabo, p. 568, describes as living in part of Lycaonia on the north slopes of Taurus; these did not separate Pamphylia from Cilicia in any geographical sense. Pliny enumerates the cities of Isauria, as Isaura, Clibanus, Lalasis.¹ The first of these is inevitable; two towns Isaura were well known; Nova Isaura was actually captured by Servilius, and doubtless 'Isaura capta' was mentioned in the *Acta* as part of the reason for his triumph. Pliny does not know that there were two places named Isaura. Strabo correctly describes the two, and calls them 'villages,' a term by which he indicates organisation, not size. Pliny knows that in size Isaura was a fortified *oppidum* (which is correct). Lalasis (better Lalassis) was the modern Lakhlas on the upper Ermenek Su (as Sterrett saw), and Lalassis was a region or district, united with Olba and Kennatis on coins, and situated between the Ermenek Su and the sea (*H.G.A.M.* pp. 365 f, 371-3, 375) or even nearer to Olba; the Lalassian region was naturally a pirate haunt in its southern part, and this would give it a place in the *Acta Tr. Pompei*. Clibanus is almost certainly a fault, perhaps of misinterpretation by Pliny, perhaps of corruption in his text. Probably the authority from which he took the name had in mind Cli(ma) Ban(aba) or Κλίμα Μανάβων, a district on the south coast somewhere near the western frontier of Cilicia Tracheia,² and very likely to be a haunt of the piratical Isaurians: quite probably these two names, Clibanus and Lalasis are taken from the record of Pompey's triumph.

Pliny should not be seriously blamed for erring in such a complicated and difficult subject. Modern scholars, writing on topics connected with the obscure and perplexing topography of this country, fall into equally serious errors.³ But P.i. y's errors carry much information, when the authorities whom he used at any special point can be disentangled, and the confusion cleared up. Different writers used the same geographical name in different senses. Pliny puts information gained from those various authorities as if they were speaking about the same geographical entity. The boundaries of such geographical or ethnic names as Phrygia, Mysia, Cilicia, Isauria, etc. were so difficult to fix as to be a proverb. Racially the peoples were much mixed: historically and politically boundaries were changed frequently in the most puzzling way. To disentangle the

¹ Oppida eius intus Isaura, Clibanus, Lalasis: these words fill up the gap left in the quotation from Pliny on p. 258.

² See *H.G.A.M.* pp. 417-9: cp. 371, 383.

³ I should not like to quote examples, as some of the writers are φίλοι ἄνδρες. It is always unpleasant and invidious to mention inaccuracies in detail, unless this is absolutely forced on one in the interests of truth.

authorities that Pliny and Ptolemy used in their lists is the first and essential step. So in v, 93 Pliny enumerates in Inner Cilicia Anazarba, Elaïoussa, Augusta, Iconium, Seleuceia, etc. distinguishing them from the sea-coast towns. This is a medley of errors, mixing Cilicia C. mpestris, Tracheiotis. and Lycaonia. Yet even Iconium can be justified as a town of Cilicia from authority, because Polemon held it in his kingdom which was mainly Cilicia Tracheia, but extended to include Iconium (Strabo, p. 568).¹

Further, Strabo regards the Isaurican country with its two villages² as a part of Lycaonia and pointedly distinguishes it from the cities of the Pisidians (see xii, 6, 2, p. 568). The Isaurican land is part of Lycaonia towards the Taurus proper, and he describes this Isaurican land and the Homanadenses together with Lycaonia and alludes to it again, pp. 668, 679, in connexion with Cilicia, in every case keeping Pisidia separate. The geographer speaks pointedly of the two Isaurican villages, not cities. This term is to be understood not in respect of size, but as an allusion to social and political character. There were no *poleis* in Isauria; it was entirely and purely Anatolian and non-Hellenic in its social system. The proper expression is that Isaurica, according to the term used by Strabo, p. 600, about Smyrna, 'was organised on the village system' (*ὡς κείτο κομηδόν*); we know that a town of Smyrna still continued to exist during the four centuries when this village system reigned, but Smyrna then was not a self-governing *polis* in the Greek sense, only a set of villages in the Anatolian sense. Similarly we know with equal certainty that the two villages Isaura were in respect of size and strength of very notable importance. Strabo describes Isaura Palaia as strongly fortified, according to the proper order of the text³; and the site is that of an almost impregnable fortress (given food and water: it was customary to store both and the water-cisterns were refilled by every rainfall).⁴ There are other sites of prosperous ancient villages in the Isaurican country, some of which I have visited. The land was able to support a large population in the Roman time, as the hills contain much cultivable land.

Isaria in the Peutinger Table, in an utterly corrupt context, is indicated as a meeting-place of roads, one from Iconium (Yconio) by Taspas, one from Anemurio, and a third (which is broken) from the

¹ Polemon is called by Appian king of a part of Cilicia (*Bell. Civ.* v, 75).

² Strabo regards Isaura in the feminine singular as the proper name of each of the villages, one Palaia and the other Nea. He uses the expression τὰ Ἰσαύρα (so, not Ἰσαύρα) as a dual, not as a neuter plural (Ἰσαύρα). The idea of two villages is so strong in the passage that the dual here is practically necessary (though it was then archaic): possibly it was taken by Strabo from an older authority.

³ Isaura Nea is the town which was captured by

Servilius Isauricus in 79 B.C. It was evidently a place of very considerable military strength, and as we may add of considerable size: the strength and the size are both obvious from the situation, described in *J.H.S.* 1905, p. 163. Strabo probably τὴν μὲν παλαιὰν καλουμένην, εὐερκή, [τὴν δὲ νέαν], regarding the lacuna as misplaced.

⁴ Besides this supply there is a splendid spring, Bel-Bunar, outside Isaura, reached by a sharp descent from the south-east gate: Sterrett W.E., pp. 122, 151. So also Calder.

east: apparently Crunis (i.e. Mopsou-crene) is situated on the last interrupted road. A road leading from Pisidian Antioch is diverted from its eastward course at a right-angle: at first it points east to Isaria, and then turns sharp down south to Side on the Pamphylian coast. It is accepted by all that Isaria is an error for Isauria; but probably the true form was Isara, where the Anatolian Isawra was written in Greek letters Ἰσάρα.¹ At any rate Isaura, either Palaia or Nova, is meant.

The Anon. Ravennas gives in this region a mixture in his usual style, Celenderis, Colonia Isauria, Garbriando, Capa, Silendero, Neapolis, Papa, Mestia, Antiochia Pisidias.

In this extraordinary list Colonia Isauria cannot be right, for Isaura was never a colony. Isauria of the Anon. is Isaria of Tab. Peut. and Colonia belongs to a different name. Therefore Colonia must be separated from Isaura and attached either to Parlais (omitted) or to Lystra, as these were the only two coloniae in the early Roman empire in the district. Garbriando may be taken as an error for Derbe²—[La]rando, and indicates the eastern road from Isaura (as described above).

The Roman roads were certainly as follows: A road leading south-east from Antiochia by Neapolis forked (1) east to Pappa—Siniandos—Iconium—Chasbia—Tyana; and (2) to Colonia Parlais³—Isaura—Derbe—Ilistra—Laranda—Kybistra—Podandos—Mopsou-crene—Tarsus. Taspā (perhaps Capa of Anon. Rav.) is corrupt beyond hope of emendation. Colonia Lystra should appear in its place, but bears no resemblance to it. If Capa and Taspā are corruptions of one original name, this may be Chasbia, modern Emir Ghazi, Byzantine Kases (misplaced *H.G.A.M.*, pp. 220, 250, an error followed by recent authorities). Chasbia was on an important route Iconium to Tyana; and Emir-Ghazi in the very low and easy pass between Arissama-Dagh north and Karadja-Dagh south is a military post and *statio* of prime consequence. Here roads meet, and radiate again.

The other names are readily restored from the actual roads. Misthia (Mestia) lay on the hill route direct from Parlais (Bey-Sheher) by Bulumia to Iconium; but one would hardly have thought this important enough to be a Roman road, though it is not a difficult way.⁴ Misthia lies six miles off from the road down the Irmak to the Trogitis valley and Isaura. The ruins of the Roman and old periods are about Fassiller; but the Byzantine Κάστρον Μισθίας

¹ So written in an inscription published by Miss Ramsay, *Studies in Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 47.

² Garb. points back to an older Gdarb- or Gderb-, which may be the Anatolian equivalent of the Arabic Dərb: cp. Anatolian Kabala, Arabic Gebel (*J.H.S.* 1918, p. 163). Initial gd in Gdanmaa (see p. 267). Steph. Byz. calls Derbe λιμήν, i.e. a frontier customs-station and guard-house.

³ Parlais was situated at the important bridge crossing the Irmak where it issues from Karalis: see *Pisidia-Lycaonia*, p. 261.

⁴ I traversed this road in 1886. The stream at Bulumia flows to Khatyn-Serai, and comes from near Kizil-Euren and Siniandos: the watershed extends west from Loras Dagħ, on whose north slope these places are situated.

was on Kale-Dagh, further west and north, overlooking and commanding the east valley of the Irmak (Aulon). The Roman military road with milestones was on the opposite (west) side of the Aulon, and did not touch Misthia.

APPENDIX III. THE HOMANADEIS AT THE COUNCIL OF NICAËA (A.D. 325).

The list of bishops present at the Nicene Council is notoriously and confessedly defective. There were 318 bishops present. This number is certain, and it became a common form of anathema in the following centuries to quote the 318 bishops of Nicaea; but most lists give only 218 (according to C. H. Turner: approximately similar numbers in other authorities). The Arabic list as published by Gelzer, Hilgenfeld and Cuntz has 318, but a great many of these cannot be traced either in the Greek or the Latin or in any other version. The Syriac list has 221. One Greek list has only 165. It is evident, then, that names gradually perished from the lists. Some of C. H. Turner's Latin authorities mention the discrepancy between the lists as given and the known number of 318, adding in explanation that the names of western bishops were omitted, because there was no suspicion of heresy in their case; but this savours rather of a scholiast's hypothesis than of real fact. Few bishops from the west appear in the list, but almost every province except Spain and Britain sends at least one representative. If the west was free from heresy, there was all the more need that its opinion should be recorded emphatically. It is probable that the western bishops came only in scanty numbers on account of the difficulties of travelling and the length of the journey. It was easy for most bishops of the east to present themselves at Nicaea, but very much harder for the distant bishops of the west.

It is probable that for one reason or another not all the bishops signed, and the reason which is frankly stated in the case of one at the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 449, that he got a friend to subscribe his name because he himself did not know how to write, may have prevented various western bishops (who knew Latin, but not Greek) subscribing at Nicaea. There is, however, a further reason. The lists have distinctly suffered in the course of transmission. One of the clearest cases, where Tumandos and Humanada have been confused and made into a single bishopric, has been quoted in the text above, p. 269. In this Mr. Turner writes that he is disposed to agree, although in his edition he says that one single bishop and bishopric has been falsely written as two. Yet even in his edition he remarks about Pappa that a double see has here caused trouble to

the scribes. There is at this point considerable diversity of reading, and there was evidently some process of corruption gradually establishing itself. The Coptic list furnishes the clue to the truth: it shows three separate names where most lists show two, some only one. The hypothesis suggests itself as almost convincing that the names at this point were as follows:

152. Patricius of Amblada. This name is much corrupted in Turner's Class IV, and omitted by most manuscripts of Class V.

153 (not admitted by Turner). Agathumios¹ of Apollonia Mordiane. This name is given by the Coptic and by Turner's Class IV and Class V in more or less corrupted forms, being mixed up with no. 155.

154 (Turner's 153). Polycarp of Metropolis. The variations of text are unimportant; the names are certain.

155 (Turner's 154). Academius of Pappa. This name is omitted in Turner's Class IV, being mixed up with 153 in the absurd form. Turner's Class V omits Pappa, but places here no. 153 in the form Academius Mustena. It is apparent in this case that the similarity of the personal names Agathumios and Academius produced a confusion and led gradually to the elimination of one or the other.

The three following names, which are the conclusion of the Pisidian list, have been subjected to extraordinary corruptions and are in many cases omitted in part. They should perhaps be read as follows (the corruption, however, may be greater):

156. Heraclius of Baris.

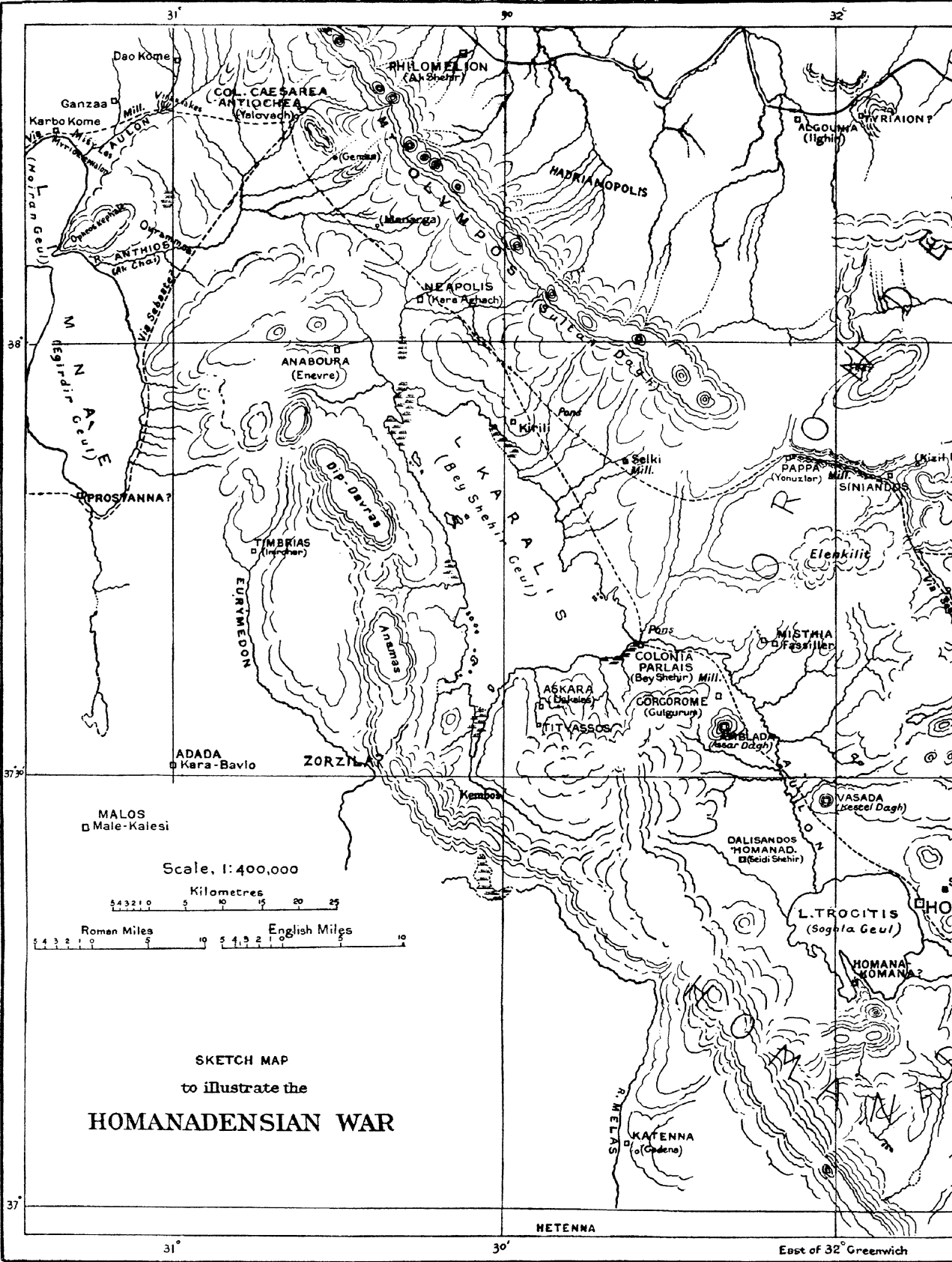
157. Theodorus of Zorzila.

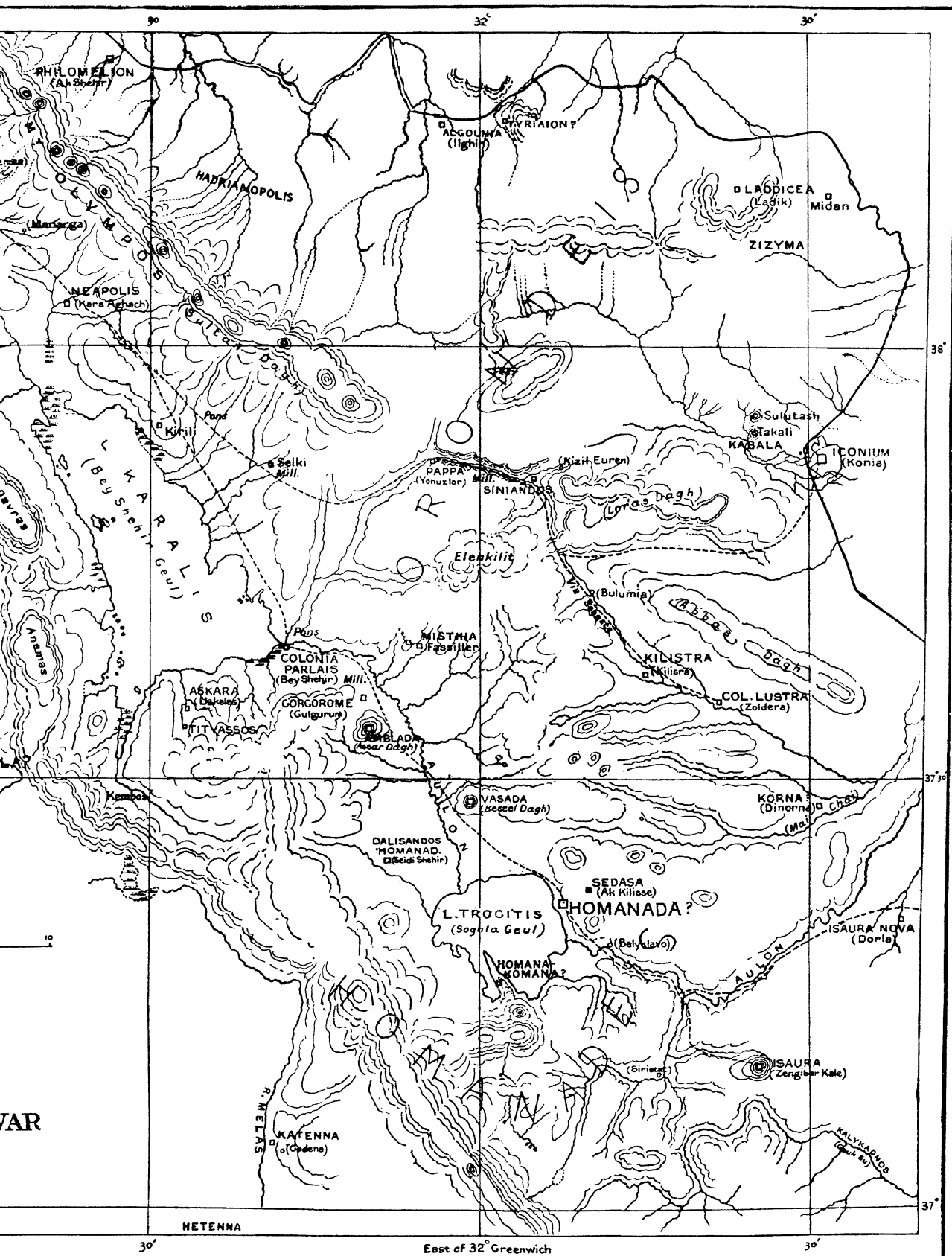
158. A personal name and a bishopric which are hopelessly corrupted, Adon Bycius being mixed with the next word Lycia.

On the whole the Latin lists, with some exceptions, make the impression of having been translated from the Greek lists at a very early time. The transactions at the council were recorded originally in Greek, but the Latin translation dates from a period little if at all removed from the actual holding of the council. The empire was Latin-speaking, and Greek was permitted as a concession. The Western Church spoke Latin. A Latin authorised translation was needed to communicate the Nicene decrees and resolutions to the Roman world, and must have been made officially at the council. Later translations may have been made in Latin from the Greek (which was doubtless more widespread and common). The translations into Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, are likely to have been made at a fairly early time, as Mr. Turner writes to me.

Probably the bishops signed at random, or in some order not according to provinces: the arrangement according to provinces in most lists (except Arabic and one Greek manuscript) was made

¹ The name is doubtful.





subsequently, but quite close to A.D. 325 (as appears from the name Diospontus instead of Helenopontus), and in the process much room for error lay open. The long lists wearied scribes, who often broke off towards the end of a province.

There are various other cases in which grave hesitation must be felt with regard to the trustworthiness of the text. These are most apt to occur either at the end of the list of a province or where MSS. vary widely in more than one successive bishopric. For example take no. 120 (C. H. T.) in the province Galatia. One wonders whether it is possible to identify Erechoreos Plamathon, Class I, with Erectius Damausiae Disdamanes (Dedareanus), Class IV. The probability seems to be that here two different bishoprics have been confused owing to the close resemblance between the names of the two bishops,¹ and it is to be noted that no. 121 is omitted entirely in Turner Class IV and in most manuscripts of Turner Class V. I have treated at some length the remarkable reading quoted above from Class IV and have attempted to show that it records the bishop of a double see of Ekdaumava and of Drya (see *Pisidia-Lycaonia*, p. 272): I did not then recognize the other cause of error, viz. the mixing of two separate bishoprics: both causes (and others perhaps) must be taken into account.

¹ Perhaps Prochoros and Erechtheus. The latter does not look Christian, but it may be an example of the class described in *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 149.

NOTE ON THE MAP.

The course of the Via Sebaste from Antioch to the western colonies is uncertain. The most natural supposition would be that it goes round the south end of the Límnaí as indicated on the map; no trace of such a road has ever been found; but no search has been made. On the other hand a continuous series of Roman milestones has been found along the route that passes the northern end of the Límnaí, but none of these bear the name Via Sebaste: all belong to a date later than the time of Augustus. It is, however, certain that this northern route was part of a great line of communication from primitive history onwards; starting from the west coast and Kelainai, it left the site of the future Antioch a few miles on the left hand, passed down the east coast of Karalis and Trogitis, and through the great Aulon past Isaura and Laranda and Cybistra to the Cilician Gates.

Fuller notes on the map will be published in an article in *J.H.S.* 1920, part 1.



Studies in the Roman Province Galatia: II. Dedications at the Sanctuary of Colonia Caesarea

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 8 (1918), pp. 107-145

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

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STUDIES IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE GALATIA.¹

By W. M. RAMSAY.

II. DEDICATIONS AT THE SANCTUARY OF COLONIA CAESAREA.

(Plate I)

The following dedications are for the most part written in Greek, and made to a god who bears apparently a Greek name; but their value lies mainly in the light that they throw upon the circumstances and fate of a Roman colony in a land where the educated spoke Greek, though the uneducated rural population long retained the use of the Phrygian language. Various writers have spoken about the inevitable fate of such a small settlement of colonists originally speaking Latin.² They melted gradually into the surrounding population. After a certain lapse of years they lost the Latin language, and adopted Greek. The evidence for this formerly was fragmentary; but in the series of dedications at the Sanctuary an opportunity is offered of studying the process as it evolved itself through the centuries.

At first the Roman colonists, still using the Latin tongue, paid their devotion to the god of the country and the city where their colony was established. As time passed they adopted more and more completely the Greek speech and gradually lost their distinguishing character. The native free population of the city (*incolae*) attained rapidly to the Roman citizenship. Probably before the end of the second century it was rare to find any *incola* of the colonial city who had not attained the Roman *civitas*.³ This Greek-speaking population of the Roman colony clung longer to the Roman names than to the Roman language, but they lost correctness in the use of the complicated system of personal nomenclature, and gradually adopted during the fourth century that type of personal names which may be called Byzantine for want of a more suitable term. The stages in this process are exhibited in these dedications, if they could only be investigated with full advantage, but to do so it would be necessary to begin by arranging the dedications in chronological order, and this is involved in much uncertainty.

The religious aspect of the dedications, however, is also not unimportant, and this side needs to be studied as a preliminary.

§1. *Situation and Character of the Dedications and the Sanctuary over Colonia Caesarea Antiochea*.—Mrs. Hasluck (Miss Hardie) in

¹ The following pages have been read by Anderson and Calder (to both of whom I am much indebted).

² e.g. Kubitchek, *Rückgang des lat. im Orient*.

³ See Mrs. Hasluck's (Miss Hardie's) satisfactory statement of the evidence in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 148 f. The much extended evidence now published fully confirms her general view.

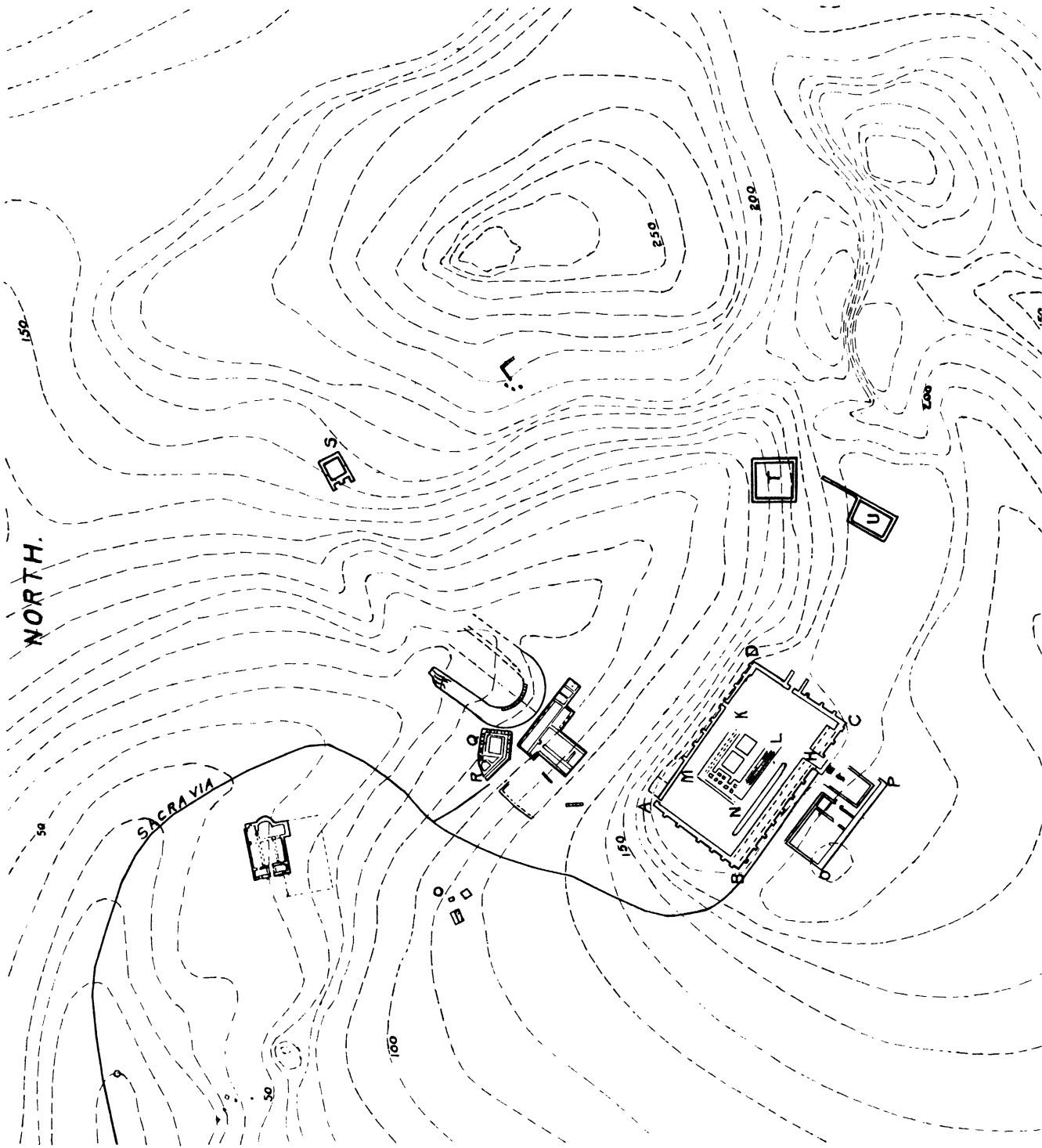
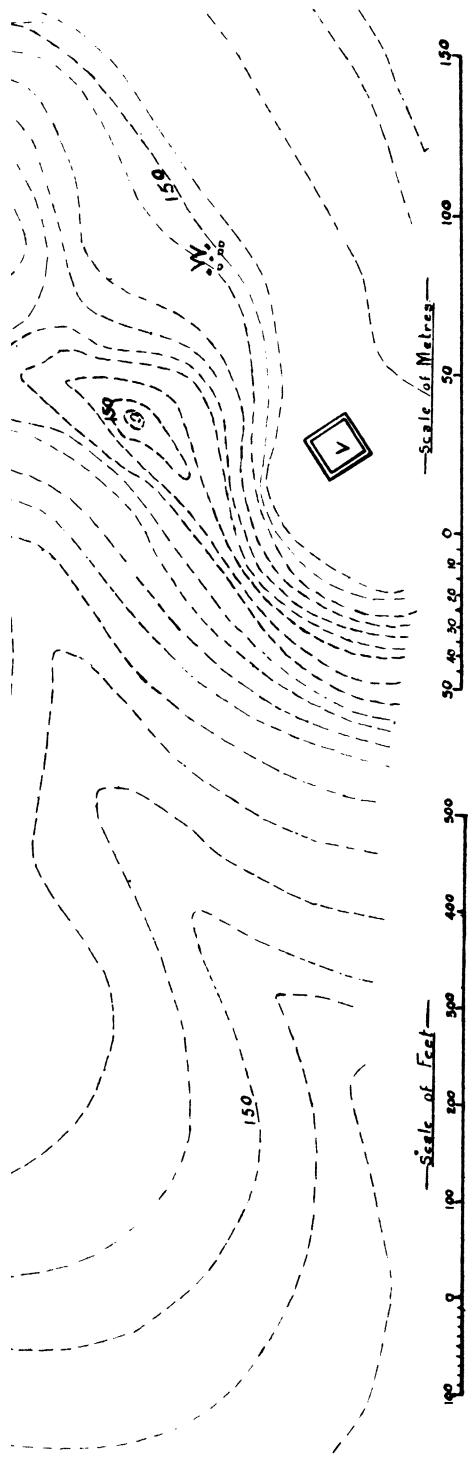


PLATE I.



ROUGH PLAN OF THE HIERON OF MÊN, NEAR ANTIOCH.

J.H.S. 1912, pp. 111-150 gives a good picture of the situation and general character of the hieron of the god Mên over against Pisidian Antioch (or, as the population and Strabo¹ called that Phrygian city, Antioch-towards-Pisidia). Her article, being the result of a preliminary and hasty investigation of the surface conditions, was exposed to errors in detail (for which Professor Calder and myself are equally responsible with the authoress). On the day that she and Mr. Calder first visited the site they brought back with them four inscriptions, and reported that many others were almost wholly concealed under the ground. We had no permit for excavation, but we could uncover an inscription which appeared in part above the ground; and Lady Ramsay and I with a few men accompanied them next day, and cleared away a little of the surface earth around the outer wall of the sanctuary, in order to disclose such dedications. We also had to roam about exploring the large complex of buildings which occupy the wide summit. Sometimes we returned to the central sanctuary, and made copies of the stones as they were disclosed. The eye requires time to grow accustomed to the appearance which the script on this kind of coarse limestone presents. Moreover, the letters were filled with the dry dust of the earth, which made them difficult to detect. Often one of us was called from other work to help with, or to criticise the interpretation of, some dedication; and the conditions generally made it difficult to attain perfect accuracy.

In order to avoid suspicion we considered it wiser to do nothing more at the time, but to leave the place immediately and endeavour to get money and official permission for proper excavation of the Sanctuary in the following year. It was, however, necessary to publish at once a preliminary account in order to attract the attention of scholars and to gain support for the work of the following year; and the duty was discharged well by Mrs. Hasluck, who published seventy dedications.

As an example of the difficulty of attaining accuracy amid the many calls on our interest which were pressing simultaneously on us throughout the day's work, I find the same inscription copied twice in my notebook. I was called from other work to express an opinion about it, and the reading suggested then is no. 15 in Mrs. Hasluck's article, as we agreed,

ΜΕΙΝΟΔΙ	Μεινοδ[ώρ-
ΑΜΗΝΙΕΥ	α Μηνι ἐν[χῆν

L. 1 in my copy ends with ΔΙ; and the I, being irregular, was interpreted as the left-hand stroke of ω; but later, when I made a rough

¹ τὸ πρὸς Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ (ιερόν), p. 557: compare p. 577. He describes Antioch

among the Phrygian cities, along with Kolossai, Lysias, Apameia, etc.

list of the order of the inscriptions on the wall, I read this same dedication rightly on the same day as ¹

HCYNOΔI	ἡ συνοδί-
AMHNIEY	α Μηνὶ εὐ[χῆν

but did not observe that these were two varying copies of one inscription. From time to time I have quoted in the text or in a footnote examples from my own notebook of similar errors in order to show how the interpretation progressed, how near the original error came to the true reading, and how the true reading was so easily distorted into the error.²

In 1912 we³ had the opportunity of prolonged study. Our eyes became habituated to the forms which the badly cut letters assumed in this hard stone. We also had the advantage that the rain had washed the surface clean and no dust remained in the letters. Experience of the practical difficulties which encumber the archaeological traveller's way shows how important this matter sometimes is; but to the scholar accustomed to work in a museum and in his own study it seems a matter of slight consequence. The stones which he sees in a museum are almost always marble; and the dust has already been cleared from them, so that the stone is presented in its purity to his eye. Moreover, dust is easily distinguished from marble; and does not deceive the eye; but in coarse stone like limestone or volcanic rock the dust is often hardly distinguishable from the stone. I give one example from my own early experience. One of the tombs of the Phrygian chiefs not far from the great Lion-Tomb, which we discovered in November 1881, was almost entirely covered up by the accumulating soil. It seemed probable that an inscription might be found at the side of the monument (just as at the side of the Midas tomb), if the ornate surface was cleared; and we employed six men to do this work. We found no inscription; the rock seemed never to have been engraved; and, when I published the old Phrygian inscriptions, there was nothing to say about this monument.⁴ When Sterrett and I re-visited the tomb in 1883, the first thing that struck our eyes was an inscription on the side, just where we had hoped to find it, written in the large, deeply cut Phrygian letters. The rain had now washed the letters clean, and made them as conspicuous as they are on the Midas tomb: the soil here is simply the disintegrated volcanic rock in which the monument is cut, and the dust is of exactly the same colour as the rock. At first, when the perpendicular surface was

¹ There is no room to restore *ωρ*. Mrs. Hasluck by a slip prints *ω [ρ]*, but there is only *I* on the stone (as her epigraphic text shows). The first three letters are blurred, but the eye accustomed to these texts reads *HCY* as certain.

² From this grew a paper in *J.H.S.* 1918, on the right use of old epigraphic copies.

³ Anderson, Calder and myself.

⁴ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1882.

newly cleared of the soil, the moist earth remained in the deep, square-cut letters and prevented us all (three in number, besides the sharp-eyed natives) from noticing the inscription. Professor A. Koerte has published this inscription,¹ which he naturally concluded to be a discovery of his own (as I have never re-published the Old-Phrygian texts as a whole).

First, a brief statement as to the locality, supplementing Mrs. Hasluck's excellent description written when the discovery was fresh in her mind, although at the same time she was hampered by the inadequacy of our examination. The building which in 1911 we regarded as a theatre proved to be a small stadium of which only the rounded western end was built, while the rest was left very much in its natural condition, merely shaped a little in the side of a narrow glen east of the sanctuary without construction in stone.²

The more complete examination which we made in 1912 showed that the sacred summit extended much further to the south than we thought, and that buildings, either destroyed or covered up completely, had escaped attention on our first brief visit, when we had not time even to walk completely over, much less to search thoroughly, the large plateau on the summit.

We may use the term *hieron* to denote the entire complex of structures which cover the south-eastern peak, the sacred mountain proper. The central sanctuary is the special home of the god, a peribolos c. 140 ft. by 236,³ containing near the centre the ruins of a small temple.

§2. *The Buildings at the Hieron and the date of their construction.*—

The basis of the accompanying plan of the Hieron of Mên, including the central Sanctuary and the adjoining group of buildings scattered over the wide surface of the mountain, lies in a survey made by Mr. E. R. Stoeber of Princeton University, who kindly gave us a few days of his time in 1912 after the excavating work at Sardis was finished for that year. The contour shows an approximate rise of 10 feet. The zero point is taken at the lowest level visible from point Y. The distances were paced, and the azimuth was taken with prismatic compass. The error of closure was 100 feet and 6°. I have made no attempt to distribute the error in the rough plan now published. The outlines of the excavated buildings are put in on Mr. Stoeber's plan, the situation of the buildings except about R and Q was indicated by him from surface appearance. The margin of error is slight around the Sanctuary and the Stadium, but naturally increases in the wide strength of mountain-top, with

¹ *Athen. Mit.* 1898, p. 108.

² It is easy to complete Mrs. Hasluck's description and correct it in certain points: e.g. on p. 12, ll. 6-7 it would be necessary to read 'to approach

the stadium' instead of 'to pass round the theatre'.

³ Measurements vary, and no wall is exactly parallel, or at right-angles, to another.

the various buildings scattered over it, to S. and S.E. The "Priest's House" ought to be cleared of the fallen large stones and fully excavated. None of the other buildings seemed to deserve more attention than the probing which we gave them, except the one marked T, which deserves to be fully excavated, as it appeared to have some unusual features. Every scrap of marble, except the small fragments of dedications, has been removed either in Byzantine or in Turkish time.

At the north end of the summit and nearest to the city, on a lower level than the pagan sanctuary, is a church (mentioned by Mrs. Hasluck), together with a monastery attached to its southern side, constituting an interesting example of the permanent attachment of religious awe to ancient sacred sites. Four periods at least in the history of this church could be traced. The abandonment and desolation of the present day are the last period. In the third period a wretched little church and a few cells were rudely established in the earlier and larger church, doubtless under Turkish domination, when a small group of monks or devotees maintained the religion of the old sanctuary, being protected by the respect which the Moslem population of the new town Yalowadj felt for an ancient religious establishment.¹ The original church, built probably soon after the pagan sanctuary was wrecked (c. A.D. 400), and a reconstructed edifice after ruin during the Arab wars, dating perhaps in the ninth century, belong to the first and the second period. Near the church was a little spring of good water sacred to the Nymphs (Nyphai, as in a dedication found in the church).

The remarkable features at the east end of the northern aisle are perhaps due rather to the form of the rock foundation than to any intentional plan. There is a corner on the outer wall corresponding to the apse, and the northern aisle is carried forward to the east distinctly further than the southern aisle, and causes the exterior line of the apse wall to be deflected from the circular shape. The inner wall of the apse is circular. Expert examination is needed here.

The monastery attached to the church was not excavated. The depth of soil was too great, and the results were likely to prove unremunerative. There was reason to think either that the monastery was later than the first building of the church, or that the entrance into the narthex through the southern door was later than the actual monastery, made through an extension of the monastery, so as to afford a passage for the monks and to include this southern door within the monastery. It ruins the architectural appearance and hence is

¹ The Moslem population of Asia Minor continue to feel marked veneration for the old sacred places, and sometimes actually participate in Christian religious festivals. [This statement, true until recently, may have ceased to be so as mutual

goodwill was destroyed gradually.] It is recognised by most if not all travellers in Asia Minor that the so-called Turkish population is in large degree the old Anatolian people turned Mohammedan.

not likely to have been part of the original plan of the church : but it would be convenient for the monks resident in the monastery during the very inclement weather which lasts for many months at this height, about 5,000 feet above the sea.

Continuing southwards up a short narrow glen in the sacred summit, we reach the stadium (west of which is the central sanctuary and beyond it the hall of initiation). Between the stadium and the sanctuary is a large building, which may perhaps be the official residence of the priest, containing many rooms. South of the glen is a broad plateau, over which are scattered various constructions and one large empty peribolos, all of obscure purpose. Above the top of the little glen to the east rises the loftiest peak of the summit, and in its flank just above the stadium, two buildings, the northern being perhaps a small temple of the goddess as Aphrodite, the other of the goddess as Cybele. The former is mentioned in Mrs. Hasluck's plan. We took it at first as a tomb, and this is possible. In the plan the doorway is wrong : it is a simple door in the wall of the naos.

With regard to the age of the buildings little can be at present established. I assume the conclusion arrived at in my article in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1912, p. 38, viz. that the sanctuary of the god Mên near the city was built along with the city, at the beginning of the third century B.C. This sanctuary came into existence for the convenience of the city, remained in close relationship with it, formed the centre of the hereditary ritual of the state, and was supported as a matter of municipal glory and dignity. It remained, however, apart from the city, under the control of the hereditary priestly family or families who ruled the estates of the god as his representatives on earth, except in so far as a part of those estates was taken by the kings in order to establish the Seleucid colony. The whole arrangement was made by a compromise or bargain between the intruding victorious monarch with his soldiery and the priests representing the old system (who were still strong enough to maintain an independent attitude over against the nominally supreme conqueror).

The conquerors could not but feel awe of the god of the country. They must propitiate him and avert his wrath. They did not consider that he was hostile ; but they knew with perfect certainty that he was all-powerful in his own land, and that he could do them infinite harm if he were not properly respected.

In the *Annual loc. cit.* it was also inferred from the entire absence of articles that could be assigned to the pre-Seleucid period that this *hieron* over the city was established after the Greek colony was planted here. This therefore gives an almost certain date. It was necessary as a mark of respect to the god of the land that he should have a home close to the city, in order that the citizens might have easy opportunity of showing their devotion to the god and making

due acknowledgment of every favour which he showed them, and finally of appealing to him in case of danger or trouble. Thus there came to be two *hiera* of the god, one on the mountain above the city and one in the country of which Antioch formed the metropolis and centre. The exact site of the other and older sanctuary is uncertain, but there is considerable probability that it was situated either at Saghir high on the outskirts of Sultan Dagħ (Mount Olympos) or somewhere in the rocky ridge called the Snake which runs far out into Egerdir Lake (Limnai), dividing that lake into two unequal parts.¹ No one has examined this extensive ridge except in two very small excursions which we have made into it; but there is considerable probability that much remains to be discovered there. I should think it is more probable that the two columns now at Gondane, inscribed with lists of Tekmoreian contributors, were brought from some point in the Snake, than that they were carried down from Saghir.

Inside the S.W. wall of the Sanctuary there is a large cistern about 115 ft. long, cut out of the rock of the hillside to a depth of about 8 ft. The bottom of the cistern is rounded, not square. The cistern runs parallel to the wall, and is certainly later than it in construction. It might perhaps be nearly contemporary; but there is equal possibility that a considerable time may have elapsed between the construction of the wall and the cistern. It is true that no permanent sanctuary was possible here without some means of storing water, for the little spring gives an utterly inadequate supply and is situated at some distance. But it is also quite possible that in the early years of the Greek city this sanctuary was not a permanent seat of worship served by resident priests. It may have been simply a home of the god, which was visited from time to time by his servants and ministers.

Already, however, during the Hellenistic period the step was taken to organise this sanctuary as a permanent *hieron* of the god Mên, ranking in dignity along with the older sanctuary in the region of which Antioch became the administrative centre during the Roman period. This change had occurred before Strabo's time. There already existed two fully established *hiera* of Mên, associated more or less closely with Antioch, when he wrote; and he does not speak as if this were a novelty that had come into existence during his lifetime.² One branch of the priestly family seems to have lived at one of the two *hiera*, and another branch in the other. The estates of the god were perhaps divided between the two *hiera*, but everything with regard to that early organisation is a matter of mere speculation and hypothesis: evidence is entirely lacking. Such an

¹ On the name and situation see *J.H.S.* 1918, pp. 144-6.

² Strabo evidently ranked both equally among the great ancient Anatolian religious centres.

establishment meant a residential priesthood, and necessitated the construction of a great cistern to store water for the use of the residents.

Nearly parallel to the south-west side of the central sanctuary, at a much lower elevation and about 30 or 40 ft. distant, there was built at some later date which cannot as yet be determined, in most part constructionally, but in some degree cut on the upper side (N.E.) from the native rock, the large chamber which we call the Hall of Initiation.¹ For the purpose of the ritual service in this hall a supply of water was required. No new cistern was constructed, which proves that water for the Hall was not needed in great quantity, and was probably only used in some occasional services. The water was derived from the great tank in the central sanctuary. A hole was made under the S.W. wall of the sanctuary and mechanism was introduced² whereby from time to time a supply of water could be drawn off from this cistern. In the middle of the broad wall there was a little bell-shaped chamber into which it is easy to descend. On the one side this chamber communicated at the bottom with the cistern, and on the other side there ran out a conduit of terra cotta conducting the water towards a point close to the upper corner of the Initiation Hall. Here there was some kind of construction in mortar forming a sort of distributing centre. Unfortunately when excavating this part I was absent at the moment when the workmen came to it. The work was going on at several different points in the large complex of buildings, and I went about from one to another. Being called away to another point I left instructions with the foreman in charge, a Turkish Hodja of some education and our best builder, that he was to trace carefully the line of the conduit from the point where it issued out of the central sanctuary and follow it up to its conclusion. I came back some time later, and listened with horror to his account of his duty. He had in a few minutes traced the conduit to a point where there was a considerable construction in mortar close to the nearest corner (north) of the wall of the Initiation building. This he had completely destroyed in the hope of finding within it some treasure. The only idea even of the most educated Turk is that excavations are conducted for the sake of finding gold, and a small mass of masonry seemed to him to have come into existence only for the sake of concealing gold. Everything was destroyed, but the position of this construction shows without doubt that it was intended to lead from it one or more pipes to supply the Initiation Hall. One of these must have gone along near the top of the N.E. wall which runs almost exactly parallel to the side of the central sanctuary. Thence it was conducted down the S.E. wall of the

¹ It is described in *Annual B.S.A.* 1911-2, pp. with photographs.

² It was destroyed along with the sanctuary.

hall until it issued over a sort of trough in the extreme opposite corner (south), where some process of cleansing or purification was evidently performed.

At what date the Initiation Hall and the construction to supply it with water were formed remains entirely uncertain. It may have been shortly after the formation of the central sanctuary, or it may have been at a long interval; but it is doubtless older than Strabo's time.

Parallel to the south-east side of this hall another building was constructed, probably in the imperial age. Thereafter a pronaos to the hall on the same side was constructed, and the space between the two is so narrow that they cannot have been planned or built at the same time. The pronaos was a later idea, crowded into a narrow space in the gradual elaboration of the *hieron*.

Another stage in construction was marked by the formation of the little stadium. About the date of this addition we are reduced wholly to conjecture; as yet no evidence has been discovered; but it is probably quite late. After the stadium was made, a small exit from the central sanctuary near the north corner, overlooking the stadium, was cut¹; and a sort of gallery was built out, evidently to accommodate distinguished spectators. We may naturally suppose that the gallery was built with a sloping tier of seats on the steep hillside, and out of the narrow exit from the central stadium came priests and priestesses and favoured guests to take their places in the gallery. The gallery looks over an intermediate building, possibly the house of the chief priest. The excavation of this house was carried out to a certain point, but then the great weight of the stones with which it was in considerable part filled up prevented further progress; and some mechanism for moving the stones must be applied, if the excavation is to be continued.

We assume, therefore, that the entire complex of buildings originates with the central sanctuary, a roughly oblong space about 227 by 135 ft. in inside measurement,² which is surrounded by a wall. This simple drystone wall compensated by breadth for its want of stabilising material. Mrs. Hasluck states the breadth of the wall as 5 ft. but this requires elaboration in detail, as the breadth varies in different parts. Roughly speaking 5 ft. is the breadth of the three upper walls, N.W., N.E., S.E.,³ but the lowest wall S.W. was very much broader in order to form a support on the sloping hillside for the rest of the building. At first this wall seemed to us to be

¹ Two inscriptions of very late character (Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1913, p. 281 f.) are built into the coarse reconstruction of the wall beside this little exit.

² The building is rough and uneven, and

measurements vary considerably. The N.E. wall is not straight.

³ The N.E. wall varies from 3 ft. 8 in. to 6 ft. 2 in.; it is by far the most irregular.

about 5 ft. thick like the rest, but in the process of excavation we found that it was really a double wall consisting of two built exterior parts, each being about 5 ft. in thickness, between which was a great mass of rubble. Thus the whole wall on this lowest side was about 20 ft. thick. The great breadth was intended to counteract the downward thrust caused by the situation on the sloping hillside. The wall was originally loftier than the modern remains, which are still about 8 ft. high in parts. The N.E. wall of the Sanctuary is on one edge of the ridge: the N.E. wall of the little temple is on the other. The temple and the S.W. wall of the Sanctuary are on the slope; and the slope continues and becomes more marked at the Initiation Hall and beyond. The contour lines were drawn before excavation began.

The principal entrance of the central Sanctuary was in the S.W. wall. The doorway here is 18 ft. wide, and is approached by steps from the Sacred Way. Processions and single visitors coming from the city entered by this gate, and the dedications are so placed as to catch the eye of these visitors. The slope on this S.W. side is steep and it was a matter of difficulty to find or make room for the series of buildings which are crowded together on it. Immediately below this gateway there was a *stoa*, now almost entirely destroyed, and a narrow flight of steps leads down from the main stairway into the space in front of the *stoa*. There is a bounding wall of very rude construction beyond the *stoa* and the open space. This bounding wall merges towards the north in the outer wall of the Initiation Hall.

Near the middle of the S.E. wall there is a door 4 ft. 10 in. in width, leading out through a much destroyed portico, whose front was supported by two columns: the portico was covered with stucco, except that two slabs of marble adorned the entrance, one right and one left. This portico was slightly below the level of the outer rock, over which paths radiated in the direction of various buildings or enclosures which are dotted over the high plateau to the south; but ultimately the central path led to Gemen, a name which is the modern form of Γῆ Μηνός (Gda Mannou). This village was the central abode of the leading priestly family connected with the Hieron: assuredly this family did not reside permanently on the exposed peak beside the Sanctuary. Gemen lies in an extremely fertile opening among the foothills in front of Sultan Dagħ, about five miles by road from Yalowadj; and even apart from the name one can feel no doubt that this was the land of the god. Its fertility and sheltered position commended itself to the priestly rulers as their abode. Antioch, the Greek foundation, while possessing great military strength, has no other recommendation. It is far from a water supply and dependent on a long aqueduct; it is bare and exposed: but Gemen is the ideal home of a rich priestly family. High on the

peak above it resided the necessary establishment for maintaining the ritual of the Hieron, and doubtless there was a temporary home for the high priest when his presence was needed; while his health would be improved by climbing from time to time up the steep slope from Gemen to the Hieron summit; and, even if he were carried, the air is invigorating.¹

The N.E. wall of the Sanctuary is at once the most irregular and the thinnest. Great part of it is only 3 ft. 8 in. in thickness, but when a little door was constructed near the north end to give access to the Spectators' Gallery the wall was widened on the inside so that it is about 5 ft. 8 in. in thickness.² This widening gives a bulge and is done quite irregularly. At the other end of this N.E. wall, 14 ft. 4 in. from the inner corner, the wall suddenly is widened at a right angle and is 6 ft. 2 in. in thickness as far as the east corner. Here there was a slight platform on which were placed two statues, male and female, of rather over life size. The male statue has been almost entirely destroyed: the statue of the lady was left uninjured, when the rest of the Sanctuary was wrecked. We found her lying on the ground, but probably she remained standing for years, until there was a certain accumulation of dust over the platform on which she stood, so that, when she fell on her face, she did not injure it much. Had she fallen when the stone was bare, the injury to her face would have been more serious. These statues perhaps are a priest and priestess. The lady's name is engraved on the basis, Cornelia Antonia; but this basis (about 4 inches thick) was not intended by the artist to be exposed, as it is uneven and does not permit the statue to stand safely on a flat surface. Evidently the statue with this narrow basis on whose edge the name is engraved was originally let into the top of an erect (doubtless square) pedestal, on which it could stand quite safely. In that position the name on the edge of the basis was hidden within the pedestal. Basis and statue one piece of marble, 7 ft. 2 in. high.

The statue, therefore, was used anew, probably about 290-310, and was made into a portrait of Cornelia Antonia; but the sculptor probably intended it to represent an empress or some distinguished Roman lady, about A.D. 160-200. The art of A.D. 300 in Antioch was incapable of such work: the people of the Pagan reaction were certainly rude and inartistic, as the many monuments now known conclusively prove.³

Near her we found a pedestal, bearing the name **TIBEPEINOC**, and some scanty fragments of a statue (little more than a right fore-arm holding a broken staff, perhaps sacerdotal). Tibereinos was not

¹ In *C.R.* 1919, pp. 1 ff. reasons are stated to prove that the family took the name Gaios Kalpournios about A.D. 70, and resided at Gemen.

² In this rough Sanctuary measurements vary

greatly at different points. The walls were of dry stone laid without mortar.

³ See especially Anderson loc. cit.; also my paper in *Annual B.S.A.* 1912, p. 29 ff.

the husband of Cornelia Antonia, for a broken dedication to Mên found in the Sanctuary (no. 201) bears the inscription:

M^o CL^o CLITO
 MACHVS E
 CORNELIA^o AN
 TONIA^o VXOR' E^{ivs}
 L · V · S
 L V //

One might be tempted to date the letters earlier than c. 300, for they are good; but there is some irregularity in the form; and the dedication probably belongs to the late time when an attempt was made to re-introduce Latin during the alliance of the State with the old paganism. This is proved by another dedication, made later by the same family (no. 202):

λλ^v CL^v CLITO λλ^À CHVS^v CV λλ
 J^{IL}^v CL^v PRISCO^v ETTAVRO
 L V S

Here the forms of ^À, J^{IL}, and λλ, are indubitably late: the other letters are modelled on old forms. Perhaps Clitomachus put up the first dedication at his marriage, and the second along with his two sons after the death of Antonia. The latter may have been related to Ulpia Cornelia, sister of the high-priest Ulpius Baebianus, c. 300-310 (Anderson *l. c.* p. 287).

Why Antonia was spared, when the priest was broken so completely that only his right fore-arm and hand holding a staff (perhaps sacerdotal), so much broken that no interpretation of its character can be hazarded, remains a problem. Did there remain a tradition among the Christians that she was not Antonia Cornelia the priestess but some friendly empress or other lady? Did they mistake the statue for an angel, though there is nothing to suggest angelic character? One thing is certain; it was not chance, but design, that left this statue standing perfect and alone in a wilderness, whose very gates were blocked, so that no one could enter, and where nothing else remained unbroken.¹

The last point which calls for attention at the Sanctuary is a little chapel at the southern corner cut in the thickness of the S.W. wall. This chapel seems to have been intended as a recognition of the

¹ Not a scrap of the Temple, above the stylobate, was found, except two or three blocks of the lowest course. The stones (marble?) were carried away.

goddess associated with the god Mên. The Sanctuary as a whole was dedicated to the god, and every monument or memorial found in it is dedicated to him: but in this little chapel several representations of the goddess Cybele were found. The old religious belief did not permit total neglect of the goddess, and gave her this small chapel. This goddess, called Selene by Strabo, and Luna in a Latin inscription of the city Antioch (*C.I.L.* iii. 6829), enjoyed the honour of a festival (*diebus festis Lunae*); but the scanty monuments of the Sanctuary prove that to the initiated she was a form of Cybele. At the other hieron of Mên 'in the Antiochian region,' she was in public called Artemis; but the reliefs are sometimes of Cybele type, and her priest was an Archigallos, showing that she was the Phrygian goddess, as recognized all over Phrygia.

No clear evidence was found to suggest a date for the strange complex of buildings between the central Sanctuary and the Stadium. It is, however, evident that an approach diverged from the Sacred Way to enter this series of constructions. The large half-excavated building which we called the Priest's House, and which may have contained records of the Sanctuary, seems earlier than the Stadium. The space between the Stadium and the Priest's House is so narrow as to make it improbable that both were planned together. The Stadium could not be large, because the little glen is not wide enough. On the other hand it is equally true that the space for the Priests' House is bounded by the very steep side of the hill on which the central Sanctuary is built. We may assume that the Priest's House was built first, and that it was not so crowded up as was the case after the construction of the Stadium and the complex of buildings towards the Sacred Way. The approach from the Sacred Way to the Priest's House is of course coeval with the latter; and there was then an open glen in the hills with two small temples on the hills opposite the Priest's House. Later, the Stadium was constructed. There were no artificial seats for the spectators, who sat on the sloping hillside.

The interposed Priest's House led to the construction of the high Spectators' Gallery, presumably for priests and priestesses belonging to the Sanctuary. These came out through the little door, constructed for this purpose. Then a pretentious but shapeless and ugly structure was built on both sides of the approach from the Sacred Way to the Priest's House. The shape is dictated not by any artistic idea, but simply by the exigencies of space. There was evidently an outer wall, very coarsely and rudely built, which gradually fades away towards the west and exists mainly for the purpose of furnishing a gateway by which processions might enter. The strange little construction, triangular towards the north and trapezoidal towards the south, excited our curiosity before it was excavated, on account of the tall, square monoliths of the native rock which stood

out clear from the soil ; but excavation revealed nothing with regard to its purpose. The heights as taken by aneroid from Ak Sheher (assumed 3,274 ft) are : Pass over the mountains by araba road 5,564 ft., Yalowadj 3,550 ft., Antioch mean level 3,730 ft., Sanctuary 5,104 ft., Peak over hieron 5,230 ft., church 4,974 ft.

The walls of the central sanctuary are roughly built, without mortar, of rough-hewn small blocks of the coarse limestone which forms the mass of the peak ; they are not quite straight ; and especially the long north-east wall bends a good deal from the straight, and in one place (not far from the east corner) turns inwards at a right-angle for $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Externally the divergence from the straight line of the wall is not so marked ; and this illustrates the roughness of the work. The breadth varies, and hides the divergence.

Mrs. Hasluck on p. 211 describes the stones of the sanctuary wall, on which most of the inscriptions are engraved, as 'soft'. This is hardly the correct term. She is referring to the fact that the stone splinters easily ; and 'brittle', the adjective which she employed in another place, is more correct. The injuries from which the stones have suffered are the result much more of splintering, either when the dedications were incised on them by the chisel, or during subsequent bad usage, than of the wearing action of weather. There is, however, one stone at least which may rightly be called soft : it lies in front of the north-west side, and bears an enigmatic inscription mentioning a number of persons (no. 9A). This stone has suffered much from weathering, being worn away apparently by rain, so that the lines of the letters have been widened and broadened. An inscription of this character is in my experience the most difficult of all to decipher, because the old lines change their look and character, new lines are worn by the rain in the softest parts, and the result is to present a text where guesswork must hold far too great a place in the interpretation.

It is remarkable that on the sacred summit hardly any traces of the Hellenistic period were found. One inscription certainly is older than the Roman period and may belong to the second century B.C. Another may be pre-Roman, but is equally likely to be of the time of Amyntas. Pottery of the Hellenistic age is rare ; most of it is distinctly of the Roman age. It would therefore appear that the *hieron* was not much frequented by the population of the Greek city in the third and second centuries B.C. No coins earlier than the first century B.C. were found at the hieron or in the city.

On the other hand the coins which are found prove conclusively that after the destruction of the central sanctuary the summit was not much visited by the people of the city. No coins later than the fourth century were found anywhere except in the church,¹

¹ If any visitor finds one Byzantine coin lying on the ground a little north of the central sanctuary

he may understand that this was brought to me from the lower town, and was accidentally lost.

although in other places, e.g. on the site of the city, Byzantine coins were much more numerous than those of the Roman or Greek period. It is quite probable that if the monastery were excavated Byzantine coins would be found there, as in the church.

It was established with certainty in the course of the excavations in 1912 that the main sanctuary was completely destroyed probably towards A.D. 400. The intention of the Christian destroyers who wrecked it was to leave it a howling wilderness into which no man could enter.¹ The entrance was deliberately blocked up, and almost all the votive *stelai* which were erected in great numbers in the open space of the sanctuary were broken in pieces with the intention of deliberate wreckage. In one case, at least, parts of the same *stèle* were found remote from one another, inside and outside the sanctuary.

I have grouped together not merely those inscriptions which stood actually along the Sacred Way and in the sanctuary wall, but also those that were found outside the sanctuary and a few in the adjoining buildings. They are all of the same general character and show only a small number of types, so that there is a wearisome monotony in the whole group.

§3. *The Enduring Sanctity of the Holy Place.*—Many of the inscriptions were found in the large cistern about 8 feet deep and 115 long, which extends inside the sanctuary parallel to the side B.C. between this and the little temple K.L.M.N.² which stood near the centre of the open space. Into this cistern, which had been intended originally to contain water for maintaining the religious services throughout the dry summer months, fragments of architecture and sculpture were hurled with a savage desire to destroy everything and hide the remains, while at the same time the lack of water thus produced made it practically impossible to live on the summit of the hill, for the small spring beside the Christian church carries only a slight trickle of water, good and cold, but so scanty that it takes several minutes to fill a small cup. The water may have been more abundant of old. In any case it is clearly indicated as a 'Huda-verdi' (God has given³), both by its position on the peak of a mountain, and by the excellence of the water.⁴ Mrs. Hasluck thought the water had some medicinal quality: the mountain certainly had some metallic character (see next paragraph).

The sacredness of this peak was indicated in various ways. The mere presence of a spring on this lofty point was an obvious indi-

¹ See Anderson, *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 268 f.

² The letters are those used in Mrs. Hasluck's plan.

³ The name is given only to springs of potable water. At Apameia-Kelainai there is only one

Huda-verdi, for the water of all the other springs is undrinkable: see *C.B. Phr.* ii, p. 400.

⁴ In *Cont. Rev.* 1912, Sept., p. 372 f. the view and scenery and fountain are described as dictating the choice of this home for the god. Perhaps also the new *bieron* had some resemblance to the old Phrygo-Pisidian theocratic centre.

cation of divine power, and it was interesting to find among the numerous inscriptions which had been employed in building the church one dedicated to the Nymphs, the only certain exception to the otherwise universal rule that all the inscribed dedications on the peak are to the god Mên. It also probably contributed to the sacredness of the spot that haematite ore is found there. Among the scraps of limestone which are broken from the main rock of the hill there lie scattered here and there a number of fragments of a different stone, very heavy. I submitted one of these for examination to my friend Mr. Edwin Whittall in Constantinople, suspecting that these fragments were pieces of ore of some kind: it was pronounced to be haematite of good quality. There is no appearance on any part of the hill which we saw to show that the rock of which the hill is composed is anything but the ordinary brittle limestone of which all the buildings are constructed, but the presence of so many pieces of haematite prove that in some part of the hill there must be a body of haematite. I add that the Turkish Kaimmakam showed me a piece of what I took to be lignite. It looked black, like very bad coal, and he told me that it burned. It disintegrated easily in water, and the piece which I carried away for examination either disintegrated or was lost. This mineral was said to be abundant at some point not far away from Antioch, and the possibility may be suggested that iron was worked there in old time, though I do not know whether iron was extracted from haematite by the ancients.

A long interval elapsed between the thorough-going destruction of the central sanctuary and the foundation of the modern town of Yalowadj. The old city of Antioch continued to be inhabited probably until the Turkish conquest, and it was only when the aqueduct broke down and the supply of water failed that the ancient site was deserted.

The result therefore was that no fragments have been found in the modern town which could be identified as certainly brought from the sanctuary. Every piece of marble in Yalowadj may be regarded as brought either from the actual site of Antioch or from the tombs in the neighbourhood or from the site of Gemen, where there was apparently some sacerdotal establishment connected with the estates. Even the inscriptions mentioning the chest of the sanctuary and its administration are to be regarded as brought from graves connected with the city, and not from the actual site of the central sanctuary. At the sanctuary no sepulchral inscription has been found, with the solitary exception of one which belongs to the Hellenistic period, when probably the great complex of buildings had not yet come into existence and the single central sanctuary was the only construction at the site. It is true that numerous graves were made on the sides of the sacred mountain. We ex-

cavated a certain number of them, but found nothing to reward the investigation. They were the graves of poor people containing nothing valuable or interesting and no written epitaph. It is, however, certain that the old Anatolian custom was practised here to bury the dead around and near the sanctuary. The dead were brought back to the divine home. Just as in the Christian period the habit persisted of burying the dead *ad martyres*, so it was in the old Anatolian custom: the temple of the local deity was the centre of a gradually extending cemetery.

In the Hellenistic period, when the establishment on the mountain peak was still small, graves were probably constructed closer up to the sanctuary, and thus the solitary example of a sepulchral *stele* may have been brought into the sanctuary when the orgy of destruction was carried out and stones were tossed about hither and thither and in many cases deliberately broken. One inscribed stone of the outer wall was found inside the sanctuary, having been transported fully 50 ft. Another was found in the great cistern.

Besides this Anatolian custom there also existed the Greek habit of burying the dead along the roads which led out from the city. This class of tombs extends far out, and is usually more imposing architecturally. The graves on the sacred mountain make no appearance aboveground.

§4. *The Sacred Way from the City to the Sanctuary, and the Dedications along its course.*—Along the Sacred Way leading from Antioch to the central sanctuary there was formerly a series of dedications to the god Mên, sometimes inscribed with writing, sometimes only showing the stereotyped outline of a naiskos (aedicula) with pointed gable, without inscription. Frequently a set of two to seven naiskoi form one single group dedicated by a family, or by some company of individuals. The limestone of the rocks along the Sacred Way is very brittle, and in the course of our experience, 1911-13, several of these dedications disintegrated and disappeared (see no. 1). After our first visit the natives began to go more frequently to the summit in search of valuables, and when we established ourselves there in 1912 the feet of men and pack-animals formed a path ascending from the modern town, which did harm to the remains of the old Sacred Way.

Mrs. Hasluck describes correctly the scanty traces of the ancient Sacred Way, which winds up round the shoulder of a mountain overhanging the left bank of the Anthios,¹ and crosses a ravine to ascend a higher peak to the south-east on which the group of buildings

¹ Antioch was situated on the right bank of the river, which runs in a deep, narrow gorge. The rocks on the left side (south-east) are higher than on the right; but they are equally precipitous.

constituting the *hieron* was placed. In the very brief time which we could devote to these buildings in 1911, it was impossible to obtain a correct idea of their relation to one another; but in 1912 and 1913 we learned a little more about this extensive group of buildings. In the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1912, I have described one of those buildings, which was entirely concealed by super-incumbent soil when we first visited the spot, and which well rewarded complete excavation. We regard it as the Initiation Hall. In the present article or elsewhere I hope to publish the whole series of dedicatory inscriptions found on the Sacred Way, and in the central sanctuary, the Initiation Hall and the neighbouring buildings.

Where the Sacred Way passes under the east end of the church the rocks were formerly covered with dedications none of which had any writing that could be deciphered, and it is hardly possible now to be quite certain that any of them were inscribed. South of the church, not far from the stadium, the Sacred Way turns up towards the right (west), and then bends back southwards round low rocks about the point where in Mrs. Hasluck's plan the word 'buildings' is inscribed. On these rocks also dedications were incised, but only one of them could be read (no. 2). Then the Sacred Way reached the western corner B of the central sanctuary and passed close along the south-western wall to the point H,¹ where it entered by a flight of steps and a broad gateway.

A large series of dedicatory inscriptions was inscribed on this south-western wall between B and H. A few were inscribed on the north-western wall near B and a few also on the south-western wall between H and C. It is obvious that, as Mrs. Hasluck rightly perceived, the inscriptions clustered most closely in places where they would catch the eye of visitors to the sanctuary, as they passed along the Sacred Way. They line the Way, yet they are distributed sporadically. Probably the visitors made their dedication at any point where the spirit moved them: either something occurred externally (especially a sign in the air, as the flight of a bird or some phenomenon in the heaven), or some inward prompting revealed the exercise of divine power; and there by the Sacred Way the dedication was made to the god Mên, who had manifested his power. One thinks of the method of Epimenides in purifying Athens: wherever any of the sheep, black and white, which he turned loose, lay down to rest, he, with the *δέργμα*² *Ἐπιμενίδειον*, saw the hidden god, and built an altar *τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ*, to the local manifestation of divine power. On the sacred mountain there was no

¹ The letters of Mrs. Hasluck's plan are adopted.

² Corrupted to *δέρμα* in Soudas, a meaningless saying, although there are some scholastic explanations of it. The correction, which is con-

vincing, was made by Calder: the 'glance of Epimenides' was needed in the case of hidden mysterious things (*ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποθέων*): Ramsay in *Quarterly Review*, 1919, p. 389.

‘Unknown God,’ as was once at least the case at Athens : on the holy hill there could be no god but Mên himself.¹

In a number of cases the outline of the dedicatory naiskos traced on the stone shows in the middle of the lower side what is evidently intended to be the picture of a projecting spike. These evidently imitated a common form of free-standing dedicatory *stelai* with a spike at the bottom by which to stick them into the earth. This form of cheap and easily handled *stelai* was very widely used in Anatolia. At Nakoleia I found in 1883 a considerable number of them inscribed (according to my view) at once as epitaphs to the dead man who has become a god, and as dedications to the god himself in heaven, with whom the dead man is identified. These I have published in *J.H.S.* 1884, p. 257 ; and we have seen a considerable number of similar rough *stelai* elsewhere, all having a spike at the bottom intended to stick into the earth and hold the *stèle* upright.

§5. *Age to which the Dedications belong.*—It is a difficult and probably insoluble problem to determine the exact date, or even the chronological succession, of all the dedicatory inscriptions.² The form of the letters furnishes no sufficient criterion, for there is very little variety : sometimes the letters are more rudely formed, but this might be due to awkwardness and inexperience in the stone-cutter. In some rare cases the shape of the writing differs from the ordinary custom, and these must be noted. In general there is one style of writing, viz. the ordinary round form, which was usual and which lasted for centuries ; at what period it began in Antioch is difficult to state ; probably it was in regular use in the first century. This form suited the stone, which is hard and brittle and splinters easily ; the letters are therefore not deeply cut. On the whole the general impression given at first by the whole series was that they are late ; but, while starting with this theory to investigate the problem as a whole, I have regarded it as merely a guiding hypothesis ; and after careful study I conclude that the dedications begin not very long after the foundations of the Roman Colonia, and that our first impression was not fully correct.

This first impression was well stated by Mrs. Hasluck, ‘Their general appearance would place them in the second or third century A.D. They are for the most part so roughly engraved on the poor, friable limestone that they lack more definite characteristics ; but no. 68 which is engraved on marble is more decisive. It could not

¹ I cannot doubt that the dedication ‘an Unknown God’ (Acts xvii, 23) was attributed to Epimenides : the speech of Paul to the Council of Areopagus is full of the spirit of Athens and of Epimenides, and a verse from a poem attributed to the Cretan prophet is a marked feature in Paul’s

argument, as Rendel Harris detected : see my paper in *Quarterly Review*, 1919.

² The dedications on marble, found mostly inside the central sanctuary, can be dated with much greater confidence than those cut on the wall, and often furnish a norm for the latter.

be placed earlier than A.D. 300, and with it must go all that contain a strange word *τεκμορεύσας*.¹ These can hardly be dissociated from the group of inscriptions of the Tekmoreian Guest-friends which have been placed on indisputable evidence in the period A.D. 250-320.'

A distinction must be made. There are some inscriptions which must almost certainly be placed in the first century. They bear the marks of antiquity, and some are connected with families which probably spring from the original *coloni*, possibly in the second-fourth generation after the foundation of the *colonia*. The dedications form a series from the first to the fourth century; but they were far most frequent in late time. Thus, in the mass, the evidence once more forces me to much the same conclusion as Mrs. Hasluck has stated, with certain exceptions. One objection to this late date is mentioned and correctly discussed by her, *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 147, 148: 'If this dating be correct, how can the utter lack of names containing the pseudo-praenomen Aur. be explained? Elsewhere it has been regarded as an unfailing characteristic of a group of third-century inscriptions that a certain number of names with Aur. as a sort of pseudo-praenomen are sure to occur among them. Here, among nearly 100 names,² none of that type occur. The reason, however, has been already foreshadowed. The pseudo-praenomen was, as Sir W. M. Ramsay suggested in *J.H.S.* 1883, p. 30, assumed very widely as the mark of Roman rank, when Caracalla about A.D. 212 conferred the full *civitas* on all *peregrini* and *Latini* domiciled in the Roman Empire. The name Aurelius, therefore, could not occur except by accident and very rarely among the citizens of a Roman *colonia*, who possessed the *civitas* independently of Caracalla's gift and had their own Latin *nomina* and *praenomina*. They and their *liberti* are the dedicants, and we have inferred from the situation that they usually had *nomina* (though many of these are not engraved). On the other hand, with a few rare exceptions, the people who belonged to the religious association called the "Tekmoreian Guest-friends"³ were the cultivators of imperial estates,⁴ who occupied a very inferior position before the law of Rome, and whose families rarely had the *civitas* before Caracalla.

'The contrast between the nomenclature in these two contemporary groups of documents, though striking, is quite natural.

'All that is here said is, as must be repeated, provisional. It is difficult and often impossible, to distinguish between Roman freedmen and Greeks who had received the *civitas*, or to decide whether a name like the simple Lyciscus is to be regarded as the purely Hellenic name of an *incola* of Antioch, or the *cognomen*, used

¹ That this word indicates quite late date may be taken as certain.

² The number is now very much greater, but Aur. as a pseudo-praenomen is still almost as rare as ever.

³ The inscriptions of this society are collected in *Studies in the Eastern Provinces*, p. 300 ff. *Annual*, 1912, loc. cit.

⁴ On imperial estates in the East the pseudo-praenomen Aur. is almost universal.

alone, of an *incola civitate donatus*. Excavation, by revealing more inscriptions, may facilitate distinction and give more certainty regarding date. If we could attain certainty as to the time when all *incolae* received the *civitas*, this would be an important step.'

One criterion of date is correctly recognised by her, and has been fully confirmed by many subsequent discoveries. All dedications containing the verb *τεκμορεῖν* are quite late; and these form a considerable body which give a good foundation to work on. Mrs. Hasluck knew only one instance of this formula in a dedication. There are now approximately 100 (many, however, being so broken as to be valueless).

Mrs. Hasluck has stated correctly the general principles which must be followed in regard to the interpretation of the names; but naturally, with the greatly increased number of dedications, it is possible now to carry out these principles more completely.

§6. *Occasions on which the Dedications were made.*—In all probability such dedications were not made without some definite reason and special occasion: e.g. in no. 60 a *duumvir* makes his dedication probably to celebrate his election to the supreme office, and to express his gratitude for the consummation of his career. In general the dedication was due to some important event in the life of the dedicator or his family.

Unfortunately details are rarely mentioned. Neither the occasion of the vow, nor the object prayed for, nor the nature of the vow are, as a rule, stated. In one case (no. 204) five slaves or foster-children in a Roman family dedicate an altar (*θυμέλη*) in common on the occasion of cutting their hair when they attained manhood, but this record is exceptionally complete. It may, however, be taken as typical of the sort of events which commonly formed the occasion: some incident in the family life was connected with the prayer and the dedication. *Mên* was the guardian and patron and helper of all his people alike in sickness and in health, and in every vicissitude of the family. The special *Mên*, to whom these dedications were made, was the god of the city and the citizens, first of the Hellenic *polis* and later of the Roman *colonia*; but he was in origin the old Phrygo-Pisidian god *Mannes*, probably ancient Anatolian or Hittite.

The lack of details in the dedications is due probably to two causes. (1) The brittle limestone in the wall on which the majority of the dedications are engraved was hard to cut, and the inscriptions were therefore made very short. It is in the dedications on marble, found mostly inside the sanctuary, that details are more freely given. (2) As a rule the worshipper stands here face to face with the god in making his dedication. The god sees him and knows him. He merely indicates himself without describing himself, and trusts to the god.

Accordingly it seems safe to infer that when any description of the situation of the dedicator is given it relates to his prayer and is a statement of the reason for his prayer. No words were wasted in dealing with the god; the dedicator either left himself entirely in the hands of the god, or stated only some slight indication of the situation in which he was placed and on account of which he had recourse to the help of the god.

Considering the circumstances of ancient society it is probable that in many cases the reason why a worshipper appeared at the sanctuary and recorded a dedication was connected with health. The analogy of inscriptions in Asia Minor generally shows that salvation (*σωτηρία*) was what people ordinarily were praying for.¹ They understood salvation largely in a material or physical sense: they desired good health, prosperity, and so on; though there are not wanting some indications that to some of them salvation had a wider connotation and included some idea of a moral kind. The probability that physical health was a frequent object in the pilgrimage of citizens to the shrine, and the prayers and vows that they made, is indicated by the fact that one enterprising physician named Hygeinos perceived in this custom a good opportunity for advertisement; and he inscribed on the outer wall a vow of the usual kind for himself and his household. This dedication stands out conspicuous by the size of the letters so that the eye of every one who passes is attracted to it. The very situation in which it is placed suggests that the aim of the dedicator was to be conspicuous at the proper moment. It is on the right side of one of the projecting buttresses, which support the south-west wall, and help to withstand the downward thrust on the slope, so that it faces worshippers as they are returning from the sanctuary. They have made their prayer to the god, and as they are returning home the advertisement of Hygeinos strikes them, as it were, in the face; but they cannot see it as they go from the city towards the sanctuary gate.

From the writing in some cases it might be thought that the dedications are of the nature of graffiti engraved by chance visitors to the sanctuary along the wayside or on the outer walls, but study of their character shows that they were not the product of chance: they were engraved by persons of religious or superstitious character who visited the sanctuary for some definite purpose, viz. to discharge (according to the language of the inscriptions) their vow. The inscriptions are generally expressed in the ordinary form as the payment of a vow: the dedicant had prayed for something and besought the god to grant the vow, and when his prayer was granted he paid and recorded the payment. One exceptional case is significant. In no. 237 a dedicant calls his offering a thank-offering,

¹ See on this the *Teaching of Paul in terms of the present day*, pp. 10, 122, 285.

and says that it is made in accordance with a dream. He had not prayed and vowed, but some success or good-fortune happened to him; and in a dream he was warned to thank the god, and probably his thank-offering included a tithe of the gain¹ which had been granted to him if the good-fortune was in the nature of a monetary success. Compare 230, and perhaps 218.

On this analogy several other dedications may be explained in which there is no mention of any vow. There had been no prayer and vow; but after the event occurred, the dedicant acknowledged the intervention and the power of the god.

§7. *The Makers of the Dedications: the Deisidaimones.*—The inscriptions which remain in or outside of the central sanctuary or in the church² represent fairly the total number of dedications. There was little temptation to carry away to the modern town of Yalowadj for building purposes any stones of the wall; they are not fine material, and also their size made them awkward to transport over the intervening miles of steep, difficult, rough mountain side.³ As to the numerous marble *stelai* inside this sanctuary, while the material was good, yet the size and shape was often not tempting for building purposes. Moreover, the ruins of Antioch were quite close to Yalowadj and at most only 250-300 ft. above the level of the modern town. Here there was abundant material to serve as a quarry from which building stone of excellent character could be extracted and transported at a small cost and with little trouble.

It may fairly be supposed that the more religious or superstitious part of the city population, the *δεισιδαίμονες*, constituted the class in the community which made the dedications to the god. In many cases the same individual or the same family made several dedications. These probably were not placed there at the same time; they represent different episodes in the life of the dedicators. The religious frame of mind, and the tendency to visit the sanctuary and make vows, worked itself into action on several occasions. Such *deisidaimones* made vows and prayers repeatedly to the god for certain objects of their desire, and returned to the sanctuary to make dedications. It was their habit and character to beseech the god for certain advantages, and to record the fulfilment of the vow which accompanied the prayer. To the ancient mind the prayer was of the nature of a bargain. The supplicant asked for something and promised a certain payment if the prayer should be granted. When the prayer was granted he was thereby bound, so to say condemned,

¹ The Roman custom of dedicating a tenth of their gains to Hercules probably springs from an old Aegean and West-Asian custom.

² The church was built mainly of stones from the sanctuary. So perhaps was the monastery, which has not been excavated.

³ Many *stelai* were destroyed, as the small fragments prove. Some may yet be restored. A certain number of dedications may be found in the monastery and elsewhere. Still those already found adequately represent the probable character of the whole series.

to pay to the god the price as promised. He was *damnatus voti*, and to neglect the payment of the vow was an act involving severe punishment from the god who was defrauded.

While a single dedication rarely gives any indication of the reason and object that lay behind the prayer, yet when the same person more than once makes a dedication a comparison between them suggests more readily the sequence of the family life: e.g. take nos. 76 and 78. In them the same person, Gamos, appears as the head of the family. In one case Gamos with his wife and two children pays a vow; in another case Gamos with three children records his vow. It is natural to understand that the omission of the wife in the second case is significant. She had died in the interval and a new child appears. The conjecture is so natural as to be convincing that the occasion of these dedications lay in the family life. The wife of Gamos died, but a third child was born to the family. In the Commentary this is connected with the statistics of family life in the Roman world, collected by the late Dr. W. R. Macdonell.¹

The attempt must be made in each individual case to specify any indications that occur with regard to the occasion when the dedication was made.

It would not be safe to assume that because dedicants must be ranked in general to the superstitious or *deisidaimones* that therefore they are of the lowest class in society. It is true that there are a number of freedmen and slaves who make dedications, but on the other hand there are also persons who are distinctly of the highest order in the state. There are priests, a duumvir, and perhaps a provincial governor. It must be remembered that the word 'superstitious' is not a correct rendering of the Greek adjective, for it introduces modern elements into the idea which it tries to represent. Any person was called *deisidaimon* who seemed to a philosophically minded man to be more inclined to recognise divine action than a philosopher should be. As used by the ancient Greeks it is rather a term of comparison, and it may be, and occasionally is, employed in a honorific sense, although the depreciatory intention is distinctly more common than the complimentary intention.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the *Deisidaimones* who were most likely to frequent the sanctuary were also those who were most likely to be attracted to any new religion. They were of a religious cast of mind, and they were on the outlook for revelations or indications of the will and power of the gods. It is highly probable that persons of this class would turn towards the Jewish religion, and would be numbered by Juvenal among the *metuentes sabbata*.

¹ *Biometrika*, 1913, pp. 366-386: he proves that the expectation of life for young women was less, for elderly women greater, than for men.

The reason is obvious. See *Bearing of Research on N.T.* p. 380.

They would tend to be attracted in many cases to the austere and lofty religion of the Hebrews; they would enter into the outer circle of 'them that feared God' (or 'the devout'); and many of this class would be likely to appear among the Gentile congregation that crowded the synagogue when Paul first spoke there, and to whom after a little experience he turned: cp. Acts xiii, 46-48.

In regard to the standing of the dedicants a distinction may probably be made between the inscriptions on the outer wall and the dedications usually on marble *stelai* inside the sanctuary. The latter were, of course, more expensive, and restricted to a richer class of the community. In later time marble tablets were often inserted in the outer wall, regardless of older dedications.

Mrs. Hasluck's opinion that most of the dedications originate from a rather humble class of the population is probably true of the earlier inscriptions on the outer wall of the sanctuary. In the early centuries A.D. it was on the whole the class of freedmen and the humbler citizens that practised most the native custom of dedications. On the other hand we can say that in the later time, especially during the alliance between the imperial policy and the native worship—an alliance which was close and strong at Antioch—citizens of very high standing inscribed their name on the outer wall, because it was an old and sacred custom. There was then a fashion of resuscitating the ancient cults and customs in the struggle against the new religion. At this time the epithet 'hereditary' (*πάτριος*) was commonly applied to the god. He had been, of course, always the old god of the district from time immemorial, but it became now customary to lay emphasis on his antiquity: precisely because the cult was ancient, it suited the feeling of the time. Standing and rank in the city, however, was an accident, and not essential to this investigation of the causes which produced these dedications. The fact was religious, and the reasons for it were religious, and not social.

Conclusive proof of this last statement lies in the practice that obtains in the later third and the early fourth century. In this time the worship of Mên seems to have revived and to have been celebrated with enlarged and more magnificent ritual as a device of imperial policy,¹ and the custom of making dedications to Mên was practised much more freely by citizens of more distinguished family and even of the higher education. Philosophy allied itself with and tried to impart a new interpretation to the ancient worship in the Eastern provinces, and at this period the dedications on the wall and in the sanctuary can rarely be attributed to mere slaves or humbler families, while quite frequently they are evidently the proof of the piety of the nobler and more distinguished citizens of the State.

¹ See Anderson in *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 299 f.

§8. *The Religious Facts and Principles revealed in the Dedications.*—The dedications give very little information of a strictly religious character, but leave this aspect to be understood as self-evident. The situation as between the god and the dedicator was clear, and there was no need to explain what was in the mind of every worshipper at the shrine.¹ Still, in order to complete these introductory remarks before studying the inscriptions themselves, an attempt must be made to elucidate the religious facts involved. One inscription, even taken alone by itself, throws much light on the religious situation; and it is expressed in abbreviation. It is remarkable that this should be the case, and that one single dedication should be put in this cryptic form. Only after completing the entire religious study which follows did the reason occur to me; yet I mention it first of all, though it was the last step in the discovery of the underlying religious facts.

The reason why a cryptic form was given to one inscription lay in the fact that it alone touches on the relation to the Mysteries. There still was felt at the time when this dedication was made that reluctance to speak openly about anything connected with the mystic ritual which e.g. appears in the pages of Pausanias, when any topic of this kind comes up. This dedication requires and rewards very careful study. It was found in a heap of stones which were lying in front of the large gateway with its broad flight of steps in the south-west wall of the sanctuary. It must have fallen from a point in the wall close to or actually on one or the other side of the entrance. This prominent position probably implies a special character, and both the language and the name of the dedicator suggest that he was a member of the priestly family and probably himself a priest. The words show clearly that there was some relation between the mystic ceremonial and the dedication, perhaps generally, perhaps only in this special case. Just as in no. 237 the dedication is made in accordance with a revelation conveyed in a dream, so here the dedication is made 'in accordance with the mystic initiation.'² The name of the dedicator cannot be restored with certainty, but in all probability it is connected with the word *Ionia* or *Ionian*. In *J.H.S.* 1918, pp. 131, 146, 149, 169, 181, it is pointed out that a number of personal names used in the great Anatolian families were greicised through some analogy with Greek mythological heroes. One of these old priestly and dynastic names was the Anatolian form of *Yavan*. The Sons of *Yavan* were the Old-Ionians, who became known to the West Asiatic tribes and races

¹ It is different in the case of 'Confessions.' Their purpose was to serve as '*exemplaria*' and warnings of the god's power and man's duty. They therefore recite the circumstances of their origin, the sin and the punishment and the

expiation. We found only one 'Confession' near Antioch, and this not at the hieron, but in the ridge called the Snake (p. 113).

² *κατὰ δυνάμιν, κατὰ τελετήν.*

in the second millennium B.C. or earlier. Various Greek personal names, most of which are probably or certainly hieratic, appearing in the inscriptions are connected with Yavan or some derivative of that name. The feminine name Ia, the name Iason, and so on, are examples. Among these may be reckoned the name of the dedicator in the inscription now before us. This name is in itself uncertain. It begins Ion, but whether this is complete or not remains uncertain. Probably it is an abbreviation like all the other words in this inscription. Possibly it may have been the priestess Ionia, or Ione, or Ionis who made the dedication along with her children, but more probably the dedicator was the priest Ionios, Yavan himself grecised: it is even conceivable that this name was expressed without abbreviation as Ion, literally corresponding to the old Yavan.¹

106. Fallen from south-west wall: before middle of gate.

This outstanding and exceptional inscription must be given here prominently, though it is numbered 106 in the topographical order according to which publication is made in the following pages. It is attributed to the period of the pagan revival, which was strongest between A.D. 250 and 315, but which began in the Antonine period, and was already influential and fashionable in a form not definitely and avowedly anti-christian, but rather aiming at an alliance and synthesis between paganism and christianity, under Julia Domna and Alexander Severus.

Ἰόν(ιος?) κατ(ὰ) τελ(ετήν)
μετ(ὰ) τέκ(νων)
Μην(ὶ) Ἀσκ(αηνῶ) εὐχ(ήν)

κατὰ τελετήν implies the initiation ceremonial already duly performed: it is to be compared with certain phrases used at Klaros, in the ritual inscriptions. Delegates came from many foreign cities and countries to the oracle at Klaros, often accompanied by a chorus which sang a hymn in honour of the god. The delegations came to seek an oracle; they were 'questioners of the god' (theopropoi); and, when they returned home, the oracle was recorded in a public dedication.² At Klaros, also, inscriptions³ recorded the names of the delegates and the chorus of hymn-singers (*hymnodoi*,

¹ It may be taken for granted that o and ω were interchangeable in late dedications. This is certain in the case of the important word Tekmor, which will be treated in the sequel; and the confusion of the two letters was widespread in the third century and later, and occurs even earlier. Moreover, Ἰόνιος occurs often beside the more correct Ἰώνιος, etc. Catullus speaks of the nuntius horribilis Ionios fluctus . . . iam non Ionios esse, sed Hionios.

² Of these we possess several: one at Troketta in

Lydia (best in Keil and Fremmerstein, *Reise I in Lydien*, p. 8); one in North Phrygia (see my *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 128).

³ See the art. 'Mysteria' in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités*, iii, p. 2142 A, note 6: also a chapter on the Relation of Paul to the Greek Mysteries and his contemptuous use of the word ἐμπαρενόας, in my *Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day*, pp. 287-301. The inscriptions of Klaros are published in *Oest. Jahresh.* 1906 and 1912.

both youths and maidens, *koroi* and *korai*, or *éitheoi* and *parthenoi*), and stated what they had done at 'the sanctuary. In several cases the delegate or delegates are stated to have received initiation in the Mysteries; and these are the cases which interest us at present. The terms in which the initiation of the delegates is recorded vary. Sometimes the delegate 'joined also in the mystic ritual' (in addition to consulting the god). From such a bare record we learn nothing regarding the rites. Two cases, however, are more instructive. In one it is stated that two inquirers, 'having been initiated, set foot' on — —' (*μνηθέντες ἐνεβάτευσαν*). The other case is specially instructive: an inquirer 'having received the *mysteria*, set foot on — —' (*παραλαβὼν τὰ μυστήρια ἐνεβάτευσεν*). The general term, which is used in the one case, 'being initiated', is defined in the second case more particularly as 'receiving the mystic things' (i.e. from the hierophant, the officiating priest). The correlative term, *παρέδωκε τὰ μυστήρια*, 'he (the hierophant) handed over the mystic things', is also technical in the language of the Mysteries. The two phrases both indicate the initiation ritual as a whole (as M. Ch. Lécirvain points out): both phrases include the showing of the mystic objects (*δεικνύμενα*), the performance of the mystic acts (*δρώμενα*), and the utterance of the mystic words (*λεγόμενα*). Accordingly, the term 'tradition', or 'reception, of the *mysteria*' denotes the entire mystic ceremony, all that is given by the priest or received by the initiated, words, enlightenment, etc. One typical act is by Synecdoche used for the entire series of ritual acts.

So, likewise, the verb 'set foot on —' (*ἐμβατεύειν*) was used at Klaros to indicate one act as representative of the whole ritual. It does not concern us at this point to discuss the meaning; it suffices to have established the fact that a term denoting some one part or act of the ceremonial may be used to denote the entire Anatolian mystic ritual.¹

One remarkable inference may be drawn from the recorded facts. The mystic ceremonial was performed at Klaros (and presumably in Anatolia generally), not annually (or biennially), on one great regularly recurring occasion (as became usual in Greece proper), but frequently from time to time as religious needs required.² There is evidence that even at Athens the marriage ceremony involved the performance of at least some part of the mystic ritual.

Putting together the various separate details mentioned at Klaros, and interpreting them to suit the Initiation Hall at Antioch, the full record is—'receiving the sacred objects (including at Antioch the "crescent" ? as a principal part), he set foot on the divine

¹ Treated in the writer's article in the *Annual B.S.A.* 1912, p. 46. Cp. p. 133, n. 3.

² Naturally, expense to the initiated was caused, for dues were levied by the priests for performance.

threshold and entered into the presence of the god.' This interpretation assumes the truth of that theory of the Anatolian ('Phrygian') Mysteries which is stated in the *Annual*, 1912, *loc. cit.* Two steps, not one, in the ritual are here specified. The reception (*παράληψις*) was followed by the entrance into the divine presence over the mystic threshold.¹ These two successive stages are a summary of the entire ceremonial (in which there were many other actions).

Accordingly it may be taken as certain that the Teletê or initiation which is mentioned in the present inscription led up to the vow and the dedication. In many dedicatory record of vows found elsewhere the order of the god (*κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ*), or the dream conveying the instructions of the god (*κατὰ ὄναρ*), is mentioned as the occasion which led to the religious act and the dedication.²

§9. *Introduction or Emphasising of the Action called τεκμορεύειν.*—At Antioch during the third century a certain act in the mystic ritual was emphasised (or perhaps a new act was introduced) in the dedications to the god Mên. This was called 'Tekmoreusis', if we may coin a word for the sake of brevity: this noun does not occur, but only the verb in the first aorist participle *τεκμορεύσας* (or plural), also the noun *τέκμορ* simply³ either with verb omitted, or once with the verb *ποιεῖν*. The word does not occur anywhere except at Antioch and in the country to the north and west, which was not part of the territory of the city, but was connected with it in imperial administration and was also devoted to a cult of the same origin and character.⁴ In that region the word became common, indicating that the rite denoted by it assumed importance in Antiochian religious society. This implies that, for some reason and in some unknown way, one particular act or part of the mysteries, as performed in the Antiochian country generally, was selected as typical of the whole, and the entire ceremonial was described by the word which indicated strictly this part. The evidence is practically conclusive that this development or change or addition was made somewhere about the middle of the third century.

The word occurs frequently at the *bieron* over Antioch, and

¹ And through the mystic entrance way, shown in the photographs, *Annual*, plate i, 1 and 4.

² Examples need not be quoted: *κατὰ ὄναρ* below in no. 237.

³ *τέκμορ* is a false form instead of *τέκμωρ*. It cannot be taken as an abbreviation of *τεκμορεύσας* as it is once used with *ποι(ή)σας*. Moreover, there is no reasonable justification for abbreviating the word. The use of *o* for *ω* is common in the late Phrygian inscriptions. The omission of a verb is common in dedicatory inscriptions; and in fact with *εὐχὴν* the omission is almost invariable. This archaic and poetic word was re-vitalised by

readers of epic poetry at school, and after some tentatives a verb *τεκμορεύω* was coined. On the meaning of *ποιεῖν* used with *Tekmor* see below on p. 138.

⁴ The religion on these estates took the form of a cultus of Artemis and Mên. Strabo, p. 557, mentions only the *bieron* of Mên in the region of (subject to) the Antiochian State. In the local inscriptions of the Tekmoreian Guest-friends Artemis takes first place, and Mên is not mentioned under that name, but as Zeus Eurudamēnos, or Ourudamēnos, or the more strictly Pisidian form Mannes or Manes Ourammos (Orumaos). See *J.H.S.* 1918, *loc. cit.*

rarely in the inscriptions of the rustic district north and west of the city territory. I could hardly trust my eyes in 1905, when I read the first solitary example of *τεκμορεύσας* on a Tekmoreian list (for the writing was so bad that I feared an error). In 1886 Sterrett had found the *Ξένοι τεκμόρειοι*, and had interpreted this as a geographical name, being followed in this by Judeich and Ziebarth,¹ who pointedly dissented from the religious interpretation which I had maintained, and published *H.G.A.M.* p. 410 in a tentative form (emphasised in *Studies in Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 318). The occurrence of the verb was the conclusive proof that the Tekmoreioi were not a racial, but a religious group. Then from 1911 onwards we found the verb in numerous inscriptions, both at Antioch and rarely on the estates with which the Tekmoreioi were connected.² This territory to the north and west of Antioch was a vast imperial estate or series of estates. The population of cultivators, was, as in many other cases, organised in the form of a religious association. The magistrates were also officials in the service of the god and goddess. The imperial procurator in charge of the estates was *ex officio* the chief priest of the ritual, which implies that the worship of the emperor was closely associated with the native ritual, and that the emperor was regarded by the population of the estates as the impersonation in human form on the earth of their own supreme deity. The old constitution of the people on the estates which had once belonged to the god continued in the form that the god-emperor is the supreme lord of all. This lord rules through his priests and prophets, and the transition or connexion between the emperor at Rome and the native priesthood is arranged through the custom that the procurator for the time being is the supreme priest who manages the conveyance of the divine imperial orders to the subject population.

The oldest document does not mention any title or name of the association of cultivators (*coloni*) on the estates. It was copied by me in 1886, and sent to Sterrett for publication in *W.E.* no. 382: also in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 332, no. 9, it was republished and improved in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 158. Towards the middle of the third century, however, a name of the Association emerges, which is obviously connected with the ceremony of Tekmoreusis: the association is called the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends. The period is assured definitely (1) by the occurrence of a date, viz. the consuls of the year 237 A.D. in one of the earlier documents³; and (2) by the chronological relation of the whole set of documents bearing on the history of this association. The selection of the name 'Guest-Friends' is remarkable: it implies

¹ See note on p. 138.

² Subsequent literature: Ramsay, *J.H.S.* 1912, pp. 151-170: *Annual B.S.A.* 1911-2, p. 63: M. M. Hardie (Mrs. Hasluck, loc. cit., p. 123).

³ See *Annual*, p. 63, but the name Tekmoreian does not occur. It may be restored in the mutilated beginning.

the idea of inter-relation between different districts or countries. The inhabitants travelling from other quarters found as guest-friends a welcome at this Tekmoreian centre through the common performance of a certain ritual, part of which was connected with a Tekmor. A verb *τεκμορεύειν* was invented (also a word *πρωτανακλίτης*)¹; and the name of the association on the estates, Tekmoreioi, is connected with it. The whole system is purely artificial and pseudo-Greek. The use of such words is characteristic of a quite late period, when old epic terms like *τέκμων* and *δάος* were re-introduced owing to the customary system of education, in which great stress was laid on the reading of Homer and other ancient poets.

Connected with this invented word is the evident inter-relation between persons in different districts or countries, which is implied in the idea conveyed by the word and in the variety of origin of the Xenoi.² Something after the nature of Freemasonry is implied, and it is certain that this inter-relation must have a religious character and that it must have been opposed to Christianity. The Christians had already their own system of interrelation; and the very life of the church consisted in constant communication between its scattered parts (as Avircius Marcellus in the end of the second century stated in his epitaph); they recognised one another everywhere through their common ritual; they always met friends wherever they went, and joined in the Eucharist. In this constant inter-communication lay the basis of Christian unity; they all held together, because they were always helping one another and showing hospitality to one another in the process of mutual visiting and intercourse. There was, of course, nothing to be gained in any way for the Christians by forming a new bond of unity; in forming a new bond, they would have disowned the basis and holiest symbolism of their faith; the Eucharist persisted with slight change from the life of the Founder onwards. The Tekmoreian association on the same analogy is likely to have merely emphasised some single act in the Phrygian ritual and not to have invented the act; and at that period such emphasis was necessarily anti-Christian, arising out of the union of Imperial policy with paganism. The performance of this act was a sign of common purpose and of unity. Xenoi were recognised and received because of it. No Christian could perform the act, except by disowning his faith. It was therefore a test of loyalty to the empire in the religious conflict. Such an act was, as is evident and necessary, a part or stage in the mystic ritual, which was the highest religious ritual achievement of the later paganism (see *Annual*, p. 52 f.).

Among the many ways in which the final struggle, A.D. 250-315,

¹ On this remarkable title, 'he who reclines first at the Table,' see *Annual*, loc. cit. p. 153.

² See the growing list of homes (Sterrett, *W.E.* p. 271), complete to 1905, *Stud. in E. Roman Prov.* pp. 362 ff., later additions *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 169.

between the old religion and the new was conducted, an important feature was the attempt to revivify the old ritual and to show that it could do better than the Christians everything that the Christian religion was able to do for its votaries. This process was carried to its completest extent under Maximin, but it can be traced from the time of Decius onwards. The hypothesis was suggested in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 318, that the institution of the Tekmor was connected with the great religious struggle and the combination between the adherents of the old paganism in different regions. They knew one another by the Tekmor or secret sign. Already in *H.G.A.M.* p. 410 ff, it was suggested that the secret sign ('Tekmor), 'a poetic term not unnatural in the artificial Phrygian Greek' of the late third century, was the origin of the adjective (and the verb), and that some association or brotherhood (such as was common in all periods of Anatolian society, see *C.B.Phr.* I, p. 97, ii, p. 359) was called the 'Tekmorian guest-friends'; but the intimate relation to the great war of the religions, and the fact that the guest-friends were the population of coloni on the imperial-sacred estates, were not there observed.¹

The cultus as practised on the imperial estates is instructive in respect of the original form of Mên-worship at Antioch. It has been shown in the article above mentioned (*Annual*, 1912, p. 38), that, when the cult was changed by the institution of a second centre close to the new Helleno-Seleucia garrison city and colony Antioch, the religion of the latter developed in accordance with municipal and political sentiment, becoming more devoted to public and municipal ostentation, and laying more stress on the male element in the divine pair, while the goddess made little show in public ritual, although in private, and especially in the Mysteries, the old fashion persisted with little alteration, whereas on the estates the cultus was more conservative and continued to lay emphasis on the goddess.

The noun Tekmor seems to be used earlier than the verb *τεκμορεύειν*; at any rate it is used as a noun with a ritual verb in one dedication, where the expression occurs *τεκμορ ποίσας* (no. 205), and clearly *ποιεῖν* must here be understood in its ritualistic sense. It refers to religious performance, and the whole phrase means 'offering' to the god the Tekmor.² In one other case at least, no. 12, perhaps also in no. 125, the noun Tekmor seems to stand alone; and there we may understand that the verb 'offering' is omitted according to a frequent and recognised usage of language, especially in hieratic formulae. Finally the verb *τεκμορεύειν* was invented.

¹ Sterrett in a *Prelim. Report*, followed by Ziebarth, *Gr. Vereinesen*, p. 67, and Judeich, *Alt. von Hierapolis*, p. 120, regarded Tekmoreioi as a topographical term. Later Sterrett, *W.E.* p. 432, mentioned my interpretation, apparently preferring it. Pagan Revival in *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 103 ff.

² *τεπὰ ποιεῖν*, or *πέζειν*, is perhaps a sufficient defence, for the Tekmor was a sacred object. Compare also *θυσίαν ποιεῖν*. This sacrificial or ritual use of *ποιεῖν* became commoner in the later period, and particularly among the Christians.

The ceremony called Tekmoreusis was therefore an ordinary part of the mystic ritual performed by every initiated person. It was not in its origin a mere test of a Christian, but it was a complete proof of paganism. This is the position that I have always taken up on this subject. In the *Studies in the Eastern Provinces*, p. 347, where this theory was first advanced, the words are used 'We may confidently say that the action called τεκμορεύειν was made a part of the mystic ritual on the estates which had formerly belonged to the god and now belonged to the emperor; but the god and the emperor were one'. This action of Tekmoreusis incorporated in the mystic ritual 'certainly must have had some relation to the conjoint deity the emperor'. In other words the Tekmor was a most solemn sign and pledge of the loyalty of the celebrant to the emperor and his service, the emperor being identified on the estates with the hereditary and ancient god, the hearer of prayer.¹ The initiated person in pledging himself to the god was also pledging himself to the emperor who is the god present on earth. Such was the spirit of the alliance made between the imperial policy and the paganism, which it hoped to revive in the interest of the war against the common enemy, Christianity.

It may, of course, be taken for granted that the use of the Tekmor was part of a certain ritual. It was suitable as a test and proof of adherence to the old faith, because it was an impressive act in the ritual of paganism. There can be no doubt that this local ritual was a development of the mystic celebration, and was closely connected with the old Mysteries, which had existed from a remote period. The mystic celebration varied in different countries, but yet had features of strong similarity everywhere, and in the gradual development during the later Roman period the general similarity was increased by the adoption in one district of features from other countries, not in the way of substitution for previous ritual, but in the way of addition to it. In each place the old remained and the new was grafted on, and thus was produced community or even identity of character everywhere. There is no reason to think that the Tekmoreusis was devised as a special test to be applied in the case of Christians. It would be as rational to say that the celebration of the Eucharist was devised by the Christians as a test of anti-paganism. The Tekmoreusis was a pagan ceremony performed by the Mystai, and the performance of it was in itself a test of religion, because no Christian could perform it except in the process of a public recantation. The very fact that a Christian was in circumstances where the Tekmoreusis could be performed showed that he was abjuring his faith and taking part in the most characteristic ritual of paganism.

¹ ἐπηκόος, a common epithet of the supreme Anatolian god or goddess.

It is implied in this account of the Tekmor that the term and all inscriptions which use the term belong to the period later than A.D. 250. The Tekmor is instinct with the spirit of that long final struggle between the two rival faiths. When the inscriptions in which the verb or the adjective occur are studied individually with regard to date and period, it is found that a few of them contain no certain indication of their age, being dedications on the outer wall of the sanctuary, where the character of the stone imposed a certain similarity of script and a general type, quite consistent with almost any date in the first three centuries A.D.; yet even among them features sometimes occur which are markedly late; In no case of Tekmoreusis is there any sign of early date, whereas in many cases there are signs of late period, as is shown by the use of a somewhat more elaborate phraseology than is customary in earlier dedications, or by the employment of epithets of the god which are wanting in the dedications that are certainly early. In short, fully half are certainly later than about A.D. 250 and the rest are not marked with any definite sign of date. From these facts, therefore, the conclusion seems certain that the entire body of inscriptions alluding to the Tekmor must be grouped together as late, and studied in relation to one another.

§10. *The Tekmor: what was it?*—A speculation may be permitted in conclusion as to the Tekmor itself. In studying these dedications as a whole one is struck with the fact that the crescent in a large majority of cases bears some relation to the dedicant or dedicants. Where there is one dedicant there is one crescent; where there are more dedicants than one the number corresponds. To this rule it is true that many exceptions occur: these can often be explained readily (as will be found in the commentary); but still there remain some cases which elude our insufficient knowledge, and can be explained only by vague conjecture: e.g. it may be supposed that the dedicant purchased in a mason's shop a tablet which did not exactly suit his purpose. It has long ago been pointed out, and the evidence is complete, that an analogous class of cases is found in sepulchral epitaphs. The number of figures represented in relief on a tombstone does not always correspond to the number of persons indicated in the epitaph. S. Reinach remarked many years ago on this discrepancy as an unexplained feature in the ancient sepulchral reliefs; but his bibliography is so vast that the precise book and page escapes the present writer's search.¹ I have pointed out in a review of Reinach's book in the *Classical Review* that this was to be explained by the natural supposition that there was in the stock of the stone-cutter a certain series of types ready for sale; there were stones

¹ I think it was his re-publication of Lebas's *Monuments Figurés*.

with one figure, stones with two ; stones suitable to a small family, husband and wife and children ; but the number of types was narrowly circumscribed, and the shop might at any time be wanting even in a specimen of the commonest type. The purchasers of tombstones could not always find a stone exactly suited to their purpose ; but they evidently were not very particular, and when they could not find one exactly suitable they took whatever could be got at the moment. Possibly, according to the custom of the market, the shop-keeper would offer an unsuitable stone at a cheaper price in order to bring about a sale.

This explanation would perhaps suit the marbles dedicated in the sanctuary, but it would not suit the dedications inscribed on the outer wall. It is, however, on the outer wall that we find the clearest cases of correspondence between the actual number of the dedicants and the number of crescents, and in some monuments even the size of the crescent seems to vary according to the age or importance of the different members of the family ; a row of crescents diminishing in size suggest the idea of a sort of procession of the family with the father at the head and the youngest and smallest child at the other end, such as is found in various ancient reliefs and in the famous Holbein at Dresden.

Already in 1912 Anderson, surveying the wall with the numberless crescents which form by far the most conspicuous element in the great series of dedications, remarked that the crescent must be the Tekmor. At the time this suggestion did not appeal to me, as my mind was possessed with another idea ; and the suggestion escaped my recollection completely. In writing the present study I was gradually brought to the same idea, unconscious that I was plagiarising. It was only after the preceding and following paragraphs were actually printed that I found out that I was merely confirming Anderson's suggestion, which I now distinctly remember.

The Tekmor then was most probably the crescent-shaped object which is represented on practically every dedication. This crescent-shaped object is usually represented inside a pointed Naiskos, as we may interpret the reliefs. The action which was called ' Tekmoreusis ' was the offering (*sci . ποιέιν*), or holding up of the crescent-shaped Tekmor before the god. This obviously took place when the Mystes passed through the entrance way between the sacred stones which still stand in the Initiation Hall, and entered into the presence of the god (*ἐμβάτεύειν*).¹ In other localities no allusion occurs to this crescent-shaped object in the celebration of the Mysteries ; but there is no doubt that there were certain local differences in the conception of the divine nature corresponding to the different character of the population in various localities, and this crescent-shaped Tekmor played a part in the worship of Mên far greater than

¹ See *Annual*, loc. cit.

in any other known Anatolian ritual. All the peculiarities of the Antiochian ritual seemed to be connected with this Tekmor, and the special fashion of the ritual is fully explained by the theory which has just been advanced.

This crescent-shaped object is ordinarily taken as a symbol of the crescent moon. The subject is discussed by Mrs. Hasluck in *J.H.S.* 1912, I, and I have nothing certain to add to her remarks. It is far from certain that the crescent, which seems to stand out on the shoulders of the god in reliefs representing him, really meant originally the crescent moon. Mrs. Hasluck points out that there are cases at the *hieron* in which the 'crescent' is unmistakably shown as the horns of a bull's head; and there are also many cases in which there is a mere crescent with no trace of the bull's head. In this latter class of cases sometimes the two ends are more like horns, and sometimes the appearance is more of a crescent without any resemblance to a pair of horns. The types then are (1) horned bull's head; (2) horns with vanishing head; (3) horns without head; (4) crescent having no resemblance to horns.¹ But whether the bull's head preceded the crescent in the order of development or vice versa, there is nothing to determine; and these new monuments contribute little further knowledge. They only make more evident how confused were the ideas of that period regarding the emblems of the god, a confusion already well known to us from coins and other monuments; cf. especially the relief published by Sir Cecil Smith in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899, pl. i. (5) There have also been found since Mrs. Hasluck wrote two or three cases in which there are distinct and unmistakable knobs at the extremities of the horns or the ends of the crescent. These do not suit either a crescent-moon or the horns on a bull's head; and conjecture is both permissible and necessary. Mr. Hill suggests that this symbol is a torc. It seemed to me to resemble rather a horseshoe of the modern type as used in this country, the knobs at the ends representing the down-turned ends. These are mere conjectures; but (6) another case seems to be clearer. There is a fair number of cases, especially on the wall, in which the symbol is distinctly not a crescent moon, but is elongated and resembles markedly the style of horseshoe which is found at least once in Scotland in the excavations at Traprain. Only half the horseshoe remains, but if I am right in restoring the second half (which is slightly smaller) from the part preserved and so obtaining a complete crescent, the resulting form lends itself to be repeated either in the shape of (5) or (6). Another half horseshoe has been found at Traprain which is of different character²: the ends do not

¹ No. (3) is practically identical with no. (4).

² These horseshoes are described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*,

1914-15, p. 198, with figure 45, 9, and 1915-16, p. 121: see also Pitt Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Cbase*, iv, plate 258, fig. 24.

taper to points, but are broad like the modern horseshoe, and in this case four holes in the preserved half are intended for the nails, by which the shoe was fastened to the hoof. While the shape of the horseshoe in the second case at Traprain is different from that in the first, they both lend themselves to our hypothetical explanation of many forms on the Antiochian dedications.

In the earlier Roman period the horseshoe seems to have been different in shape and was tied on; but the Scottish examples are oval and quite unlike the crescent moon. The modern Turkish horseshoe is a nearly complete circular metal plate covering the whole of the horse's hoof with only a small round hole in the centre; but there was certainly in use in Roman Scotland, and probably in Asia Minor, during the third and fourth centuries (if not earlier), a type of horseshoe, or perhaps two types of horseshoe, approximating much more closely to the modern European form. The older type of Roman horseshoe probably originated in Gaul. The question may be asked whether this nearly complete oval shoe employed in the later time originated in Asia Minor and West Africa, and whether it was carried by auxiliary cavalry to the West. There are other traces known of the direct influence of Asiatic customs on northern Britain.

Considering the wide variety of shapes of the objects represented in the dedications it is probable that they are not all indications of the same article. The word crescent may be used roughly in the following list to describe the whole class of objects, omitting the circular discs which often occur in the pediments; but, whether or not any of these objects represent the crescent moon, it seems quite certain that many of them do not. It is possible that (5) may be intended as a picture of the shoes used on oxen, though I know no proof that oxen were shod in ancient Asia Minor, as they are at the present day in Southern Europe. The confusion of symbols and ideas is characteristic of the mixture of religious and religious ideas in the period to which the majority of the dedications belong, viz. the third and the early fourth centuries.

The conjecture is permissible, and almost obligatory, that in all these symbols the underlying idea is simply good fortune. The object indicated, whether horseshoe or torc or something else, is added to the dedication as being lucky. It represents some form of popular superstition, with some special bearing on productivity and fertility. The prayers of many dedicators included as the whole or part of their desire the birth of children; and anything approximately rounded was taken as symbolic of birth. A circular symbol with an entrance meant good fortune.

The horseshoe or the oxshoe was made of iron, and it is not impossible that the numerous pieces of haematite iron scattered over the surface of the sacred peak may have some connexion with this. The use of iron was of course a comparatively late discovery; but,

when it was discovered, it had to be brought into relation with current religion or superstition; and thus arose hieratic legends and religious or superstitious rites showing the influence of the divine power, or of daemonic power, on the discovery and use of the new metal.

It was once suggested by the writer that this symbol as it appears projecting behind the shoulders of the god Mên is really a mistaken representation of the wings which frequently appear on the shoulders of the god in old Hittite monuments. Whether this hypothesis can ever be justified or proved is quite uncertain, but it remains still possible, and there is at least one case on a Phrygian relief of the Roman time in which the horns of the crescent stand so upright as to be evidently not intended to indicate the crescent moon.

This uncertainty with regard to the meaning and exact form of the 'crescent' may seem to constitute an argument that the crescent is not the Tekmor. One would expect that the Tekmor should be some sacred object of ancient character and well-defined form. This, however, is by no means certain. The religion of the time was mixed, fluctuating, full of varieties and uncertainties and new ideas only half reconciled with the old.

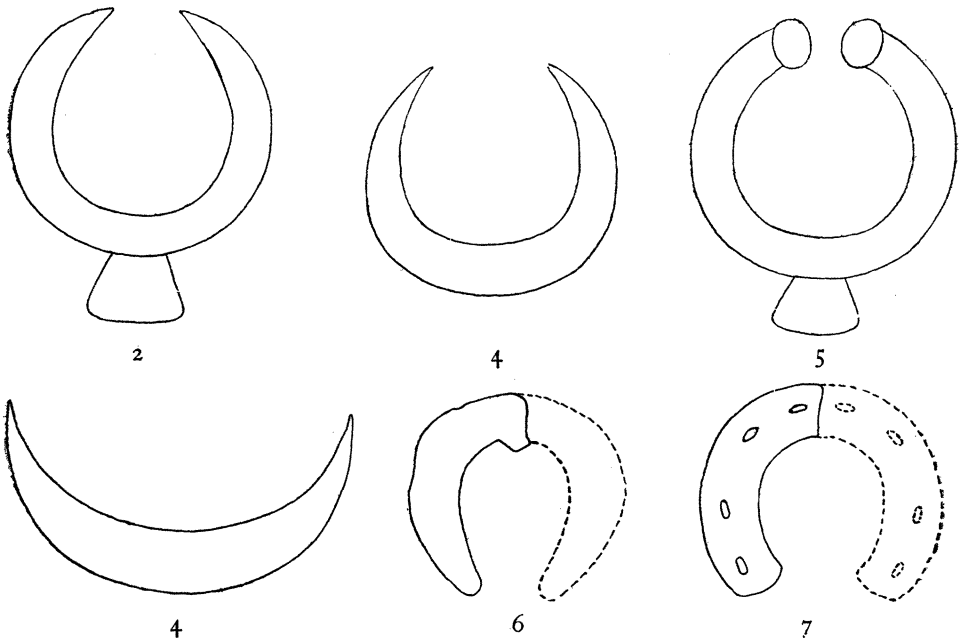
On the wall of the sanctuary the Naiskoi are quite as conspicuous as the crescents. In the old Anatolian religious dedications accompanied by symbolism (either incised or in relief), the Naiskos is common and specially characteristic of the ritual. It is pictured as the shelter of the deity, who sits under it: in fact, the Naiskos is the shrine of the divinity. At the Antiochian sanctuary this is not the case; there is no representation of the god Mên or Mannes in human form under the shrine. Often, however, in Anatolia (e.g. on coins of Perga, etc.), there is not in the shrine any representation of the divinity in a form human or approximating to human. So it was at Antioch. In the older form of the religion, before Hellenic anthropomorphism triumphed completely, the god, if represented at all to the eye,¹ was represented only by some symbol. This symbol at Antioch was what we speak of as the "crescent" (whatever was its real nature). In the later Roman period, when symbolism was varied and modified, the "crescent" assumed various shapes, but it is always considered to be the symbol of Good Fortune. The anthropomorphised representations of the god Mên in the Roman period with its great number of connected symbols, such as the crescent horns on the shoulder, the pointed cap, the bull's head, Nike on a globe carrying a trophy in her left hand, which rests on a column, the sceptre in his right hand and the cock standing beside him on the ground, shows how complex the divine idea was at Antioch. The artist attempted to bring together into one representation all the prominent

¹ The empty divine throne is common: see *The Thousand and One Churches*, p. 505 ff.

features and characteristics of the divine power. He is not simply representing a moon-god, but the divinity in all its varied character.

Personally I have never been inclined to the view that the god Mên is the moon-god. He is associated with the goddess the moon, but he himself is not a male impersonation of the moon-god. The goddess Luna is mentioned in an Antiochian inscription, and as Anderson pointed out, *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 272, Mên is mentioned by Strabo as associated with the moon-goddess. He is rather the sun-god keeping company with the moon, so far as he represents any astronomical idea; but his nature is much wider. He is the great power of the divine nature as affecting the life of man in all ways. His Anatolian name was Mannes, as is proved fully in *J.H.S.* 1918, pp. 148 ff. A fuller title is given in an inscription of Akmonia, which is dated A.D. 311-2, and which belongs to the revival of paganism when ancient names and antique customs were re-introduced with an ideal sense attached to them and were used as a weapon against the hostile religion of Christianity. The god is there called Manes Daos Heliodromos Zeus. These various names are brought together to sum up a complex divine nature. The god is the old Anatolian Manes, and he is the Hellenic supreme deity Zeus; he is the sun-god who runs his daily course through the heavens; and finally he is Dawos (perhaps a Pisidian god, wolf, Hesych, *s.v.* δάος).¹

¹ δάος has been taken as the analogue of θῶς. The word in the sense 'torch' occurs in the Tekmoreian lists: *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 163: also Hesych. *l.c.*





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Author(s): William Mitchell Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 12 (1922), pp. 147-186

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

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STUDIES IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE GALATIA.

By WILLIAM MITCHELL RAMSAY.

III. IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE GALATIA.¹

A. NATURE OF THE ROMAN ADMINISTRATION : 25 B.C. TO A.D. 65—
The province Galatia is a singularly obscure subject. Marquardt's chapter contains little information, because little was known ; but what he states is correct, and he makes few, if any, unfounded or dangerous assertions. He knows and mentions the senatorial governor (praetorius leg. Aug. pr. pr.), the equestrian proc. Galatiae, and about the name of the province he expresses no hesitation : as a province of the Empire it was simply Galatia. Inherited by Augustus from Amyntas, the last king, it bore as the realm of a king the unifying name Galatia ; no other name was possible, and this name was continued by the policy of Augustus. A friend points out to me that the idea of inheritance of the realm Galatia was only a sort of political or legal fiction ; and that the relation of the Emperor to such client-kings as Amyntas was one of absolute power on his side and of absolute servitude on the other. That is true. Augustus bestowed authority and title on those pseudo-kings ; he could at any moment resume what he had bestowed ; and on the death of any of them the complete and absolute authority reverted to him. The question, however, is under what forms Augustus chose to clothe his absolute lordship. He was a master of the art of disguising hard unlimited despotism under legal or religious forms, and in this case the form was that of Will or Testament, as Strabo mentions. Augustus claimed to have inherited the realm of Amyntas in virtue of the latter's Will, and acted, after the latter's death, 25 B.C., as his heir (κληρονόμος, *heres*). The Emperor must have accepted the inheritance formally within the legal interval, and treated his inheritance according to law as including the debts as well as the property of the deceased. It was not *hereditas sine sacris*. Augustus was bound to pay all obligations ; and he paid in full.²

¹ This article ought, in proper course, to have contained the text of the dedicatory inscriptions at the Hieron above Colonia Antiochea ; but I found myself remote from books at Biskra in Jan. 1923, and could not write except what was clear in memory. I have added the references more exactly and the text of parts 1 and 3 of Domaszewski's inscription under Part IV : also Part V. I had hoped that the text of the dedicatory inscriptions would have been published long ago by Professor Calder ; but his other duties have left him no leisure.

² Needless difficulty has been caused to some recent scholars by the fact that Amyntas was appointed

king of Pisidia along with Phrygia-towards-Pisidia (the names are often loosely used by Roman authorities), and afterwards succeeded Deiotarus or Castor in Galatia. As he is not expressly called 'king of Galatia' when this transference is described, some have thought that his first kingdom (if it was 'kingdom') determined his title and dignity. Strabo, however, unmistakably regards and describes him in his proper place as last king of Galatia. The fact that in a similar way Polemon I was made king or dynast of Cilicia Tracheiotis (Kietis, etc.), did not prevent him from ranking as king of Pontus and Bosphorus on his later promotion to the rule of those greater lands. In fact, however,

The sole debt, so far as we know, was one of vengeance. Amyntas had been slain by his enemies, the Homanadenses and their queen (regarded as a revolting tribe); and after an interval, necessitated by the complications of Roman affairs, the Homanadensian War left in that tribe no man of military age; all were dead or slaves sold beyond their own land, and a new generation grew up under the terror of Roman power. Peace reigned henceforth among the Homanadenses, wherever else disturbance existed. This war, however, was not (according to the Roman view) purely a matter of foreign policy, nor even of the Emperor's *indulgentia* protecting his peaceful subjects of Pisidian Phrygia (Phrygia-towards-Pisidia) from the Taurus mountaineers (Homanadenses, Pisidians, etc.). The war was the execution in his personal capacity of his duty¹ as heir of Amyntas; it was a religious action, and troops of his own imperatorial provinces with auxiliaries from his subject and client-king Polemon of Bosphorus were employed. It is true that any action of Augustus was a public act of the Roman State; no pretence of religious form could divest it of that character; the legions of Syria, which formed the strength of the army, were troops of the Roman State; practically no other legions were available in the circumstances (for Egypt could hardly be managed with less than its ordinary garrison).² The whole of Cilicia Tracheia was attached to the province Syria, for its client-princes and priest-kings were under the orders of the Syrian governor, and the troops of the province were charged as much with the order of Cilicia as of Syria. In this situation the deep-seated contradiction is clearly evident between Augustus as the despot of the Roman world and Augustus as the modest would-be magistrate of a republic, entrusted by the free people with certain powers for maintaining peace and order in the whole Roman Empire. His private acts as a citizen were, after all, the acts of the unquestioned ruler of the Empire; even as *heres* and *privatus* he was *imperator*.

In the province Galatia no doubt was felt as to the nature of the Emperor's action. The population was not deceived for a moment by the pretence of private duty and of republican forms. They saw indeed only Augustus's personality in all his acts, because he stood out before the eastern world as the 'one man' whom Rome's wide walls encompassed. He was to them the supreme god, who condescended to give peace and good government to the world by his presence and ever-watchful care.

the idea of 'king of a country' is rather a modern intrusion. Those rulers were granted the dignity of 'king,' but not 'king of a certain country.' They were βασιλεῖς. They often proceeded to enlarge their realm of war; but their kingdom was simply the land where they exercised their despotic or royal authority.

¹ While this was a form or fiction, it regulated

procedure, and can rightly be used as determining time and order of events: i.e. it affords a basis for chronology.

² Some detachments might be spared for a temporary purpose. Even the Syrian army could not be employed completely in the war; the peace of the province depended upon the presence of sufficient troops there always.

There were three principal classes of Galatai, and Augustus had three aspects in Galatia.

1. He inherited as *dominus* all the great estates of the god or goddess in every region and district. The mines of Zizyma, the 'Garden of Ma' at Egri-Baiyat in its fertile nook, the 300 flocks that pastured on the great plains west of lake Tatta, and so on, all belonged to him as his personal property, and the labourers looked only to him as their lord and master, not freemen, not slaves, but occupying an intermediate and humble position, which suited and contented them, difficult to define in exact legal phraseology (for it was not contemplated in existing Roman law), but easy to apprehend in a vague way.¹ He was *σύνναος* and *σύνβωμος* with the local deities, and his statue, which in the Apocalypse is repeatedly called the 'Image of the Monster' (*εἰκὼν τοῦ θηρίου*), represented a real power to his people on his land. He exercised his authority over those cultivators (*coloni*) under the old theocratic forms. He was their god, and they were his people, and those *pagani* were the last to adopt Christianity, the religion of free men (Paul's *Ep. Gal.* iv. 9, 23; v. 1, 13), the religion of a freedom which they did not understand or desire (Strabo, xii. 2, 11, p. 540).

All this large class of the Galatic population looked only to the Emperor and revered his image, and thought of no other governing power than the Emperor and his representatives, who were members of his household looking after his interests. The extent of his estates was very great, but remains uncertain. The work of the A.M.E.F. was devoted largely for several years to the search for evidence on this subject.²

2. The second class of the Galatic population comprised the inhabitants of the half-hellenized or hellenizing cities in the plains of Phrygia, Lycaonia and South Galatia generally. Those cities were organized according to Graeco-Asiatic custom; they elected their own magistrates, managed their own local business, and struck their own copper coinage (almost always with the Emperor's head on the obverse). The citizens of those cities and their customs were favoured by the Imperial policy, in contrast to the tribal freedom and unruliness of the third class of the Galatai. Hellenism was the useful ally of Rome in assimilating Asia Minor (*J.H.S.* 1918, p. 143 f.).

3. The third Galatic class included on the north the original Gauls or Galatai of the three tribes, and on the south the Pisidians and other mountain tribes of the Taurus. Their independent spirit,

¹ The relation was inconsistent with the spirit and the growth of Roman law; but Rome never sacrificed practical facts to logical consistency. Rome, in governing the East, governed according to Eastern nature, and did not pretend that Asiatics must be transformed into Occidentals by maintaining the dangerous sham that they must as soon as possible be made to live according to Western

ideas and to exercise liberty and self-government, which they hated. 'Liberty' was dying in the West.

² The first attempt to collect the evidence about the Orondian Estates near Sizma (Zizyma) was in C. R. 1905, p. 368 f. A.M.E.F. means Asia Minor Exploration Fund.

nurtured by their European Gallic descent or by their mountain land and home of Taurus, made them less inclined to that obedience which the Romans required.

The Gauls of Asia Minor therefore long remained outside of the Roman civilization, like the 'Tres Galliae'¹ of the west. In the fourth century Greek civilization, as Libanius says, was conquering North Galatia, and a new field was opening to Greek letters. This stage represented the triumph of Roman system in North Galatia, for the imperial policy accepted Greek custom and language and literature as its best instrument in 'romanizing' the East. The Greek nationality has always been, and still is, the most penetrative and refashioning element in western Asia, successful to the highest degree in peace, but always failing in war and useless as a ruling power.

The subject of this paper is the treatment of this complicated problem by the imperial administration. It was much more complicated than the romanization of the province Asia (including Asian Phrygia or Phrygia Magna), for the Hellenic element had already penetrated very thoroughly the western part of that province before the Roman period and there existed nothing, or very little, of the real tribal system throughout Asia provincia (such as constituted the difficulty in Galatia).²

Accordingly the Roman policy naturally and inevitably favoured the Graeco-Asiatic cities and law and civilization against the tribal character. The Taurus tribes were soon induced or compelled to accept the Hellenistic system, and some of them had done so voluntarily to some degree before the Roman period, such as Selge and Sagalassos. Coinage is the test, for the people that coins money binds itself to trade and order, which were of the essence of the Hellenistic system.

In Galatia the three Gallic tribes, again, were anti-Roman by racial instinct and still more through the natural antipathy of the Gallic tribal feeling and system to the more developed and more highly articulated Graeco-Roman form of city government. Rome felt that the 'tribe,' with all that it implied, was hostile. With the tribe persisted the Gallic language, in some small degree the Gaulish religion,³ the spirit of freedom and the reluctance to comply with alien custom.

¹ There is the most marked distinction in this respect between Narbonensis and the Tres Galliae. Even England was more thoroughly romanized than the three Gauls. The results are patent at the present day. Narbonensis, especially Provence, is 'Latin.' The 'Tres Galliae' are not 'Latin,' and dislike to be classed as 'Latin.' In the North and the West lies the strength of France.

² Rostoffzeff interprets the *ἔθνη* in the comprehensive early formula summing up the population of Asia provincia as the peoples still imperfectly hellenized; but among them there was no stubborn tribal feeling (*Stud. z. Gesch. d. r. Kolonats* p. 262).

³ The Gallic religion of Druidism was the only religion (except Christianity) which was proscribed by the Imperial policy. Claudius recognized the hostility and acted accordingly. All other religions enjoyed complete freedom under the Empire, which turned this freedom to its own uses. But the Gallic aristocracy learned early to adapt themselves to the native Anatolian religion and to govern under the guise of priesthood, and afterwards to accommodate themselves to the Imperial cult. A Gallic god in the third century A.D. (Anderson, *J.H.S.* 1910, p. 164) was called Zeus Boussourigios.

Yet Mommsen, in his brilliant sketch of the character of the Asia Minor provinces, confines himself almost entirely to Asia proper, especially western Asia (with slight reference to the strongly hellenized Nicomedia and Nicaea), and conveys the impression that this is a picture of Asia Minor with its many provinces and nationalities and diverse elements. Incidentally this shows how much our knowledge of Anatolia has increased since his vol. v was written.

B. EXTENT OF THE PROVINCE.—The original Galatic province, the kingdom of Amyntas, embraced the whole of central Anatolia, stretching from the borders of Paphlagonia on the north almost to the southern sea, omitting the sea-plain of Pamphylia proper, but including nominally the whole of Pisidia and Isaurica,¹ to the borders of Tracheiotis (which are and then were far from certain amid almost pathless and valueless mountains). To this vast territory was added Paphlagonia in 5 B.C. the realm of Deiotaros Philadelphos, and in 2–1 B.C. and A.D. 34–35 Pontus Galaticus, and again in A.D. 63 Pontus Polemoniacus, the realm of Polemon II.

Also about 65 Armenia Minor was added to the Empire, and should naturally have been incorporated in the Galatic province; but a crisis was approaching in that *provincia*.

What was the reason why all those large regions and countries were added to Galatia? It seems on the map to be geographically far more convenient that they should be annexed to Cappadocia, already a Roman province from A.D. 17. Cappadocia, however, was only governed by a procurator, and the control of Roman foreign policy in this region could not be left to a procurator, but demanded the attention of a legatus. Accordingly the *provincia* or sphere of duty of the Galatic governor embraced the entire relations of Rome with the great north-eastern countries adjoining the Empire; and each region as it was taken over into the Empire naturally continued to be under the same control.

This arrangement now proved unworkable. A legatus in Galatia controlled no legions, and was not sufficiently far advanced in the career of service and experience to be trusted with such extensive duties. This was demonstrated in the Armenian War, where Corbulo had to be sent on a special mission with wide-reaching and quite unusual powers. It is usual to say that his successes and victories roused imperial jealousy; but that is a superficial account. It was the dangerous nature of Corbulo's powers that seemed to set him up as a rival to the imperial authority. As extraordinary controller of

¹ Isaurica, the land of the two large and strong townships (in Anatolian usage still only *κῶμαι*), must with Strabo be classed to Lycaonia, and distinguished from the later term Isauria (which Strabo does not use). In Cicero's time and use the Isaurican conventus had Iconium as its centre, while the

Lycaonian conventus looked to Philomelion as its meeting-place. The editors of Cicero's letters mis-state the facts and misrepresent history in respect of those two conventus. Similarly Polybius and Diodorus (i.e. Hieronymus of Cardia) use only 'Pisidike,' not Pisidia.

the whole east, he was on the path of empire ; and it seemed to the despot necessary to strike down a possible rival. Corbulo, while a capable general, was too simple or too honourable or too patriotic to aspire ; and the order for his death may have warned him too late that on the path which he had been ordered to tread there can be no safe turning-back.

The success of Corbulo in the East did not solve the problem of eastern rule. It only demonstrated that a praetorian ruler was unequal to the great trust. Already even in the Homanadensian war it had been shown that a governor without legions could not direct Galatic foreign policy, and the war which was needed to subdue the southern Galatic frontier must be waged from a province with legions. The governor of Syria had to enter a province where he had no authority, and conduct the war from a base in that province, for a war in the north Taurus could not be conducted from the southern side of the mountains. The danger of jealousy and rivalry between the two governors was overcome, and they remained friends for life. The territory of the Homanadenses was claimed by Amyntas and was part of his heritage ; it was attached to the Galatic province forming part of Lycaonia Galatica permanently, so long as any trace of the old names and divisions remained. Such was the result of a war conducted by the Syrian governor with the Syrian legions in Provincia Galatia.

The Galatic province was even then unable to control and defend its own territory ; much less could it regulate and control its vastly swollen bounds in the time when Corbulo's extraordinary command was required. Some precedent for this command was found in the mission of Gaius Caesar to the East in 1 A.D., but that very precedent was taken from a recognized successor to the throne, and only intensified the threat which Corbulo's position and authority seemed to hold out against the Empire. Some change of system was necessary, but Nero's character and fall postponed the reorganization. As soon, however, as Vespasian's power was firmly settled, he proceeded to reorganize the eastern and central regions of Asia Minor.

Exact dates are a little doubtful, but by 74 the new system was fully inaugurated. Cappadocia was united with Galatia in a great province, administered by a consular legatus, with whom was associated either regularly or occasionally a praetorian legatus iuridicus. Sometimes confusion has arisen among modern scholars between these two kinds of legatus in the Galatic-Cappadocian province. Great part of Pisidia was at this time disjoined from Galatia, and formed along with Lycia and Pamphylia into a double province governed by a praetorian legatus. Pisidian Phrygia was henceforth generally called in Roman usage Pisidia simply.

This joint province of Galatia-Cappadocia existed until the latter part of Trajan's reign. It is noteworthy that the Flavian policy

in the east was generally carried on by Trajan. Any special acts of Domitian were invalidated at his death, as Mommsen once pointed out in respect of the origin of the definite imperial anti-Christian policy; but in so far as Domitian merely carried on the settled policy of the Flavian dynasty, this was confirmed as the right path of Empire.

A new way of naming this vast double province dates from 74. Partly because of mere pride of power, but probably more because of real differences in administration between the different parts, the province was described or named by enumerating its parts, Galatia-Cappadocia-Armenia-Paphlagonia-Pontus-Lycaonia - Phrygia or Pisidia; but as this method was cumbersome the enumeration was never complete. An attempt was made in *H.G.A.M.* p. 253 to deduce variation in limits from the variation in the lists; but this proved to be incorrect method and gave no useful results. The fashion, however, persisted even after Trajan, when Cappadocia as a consular imperial province was separated from Galatia. The latter reverted to its praetorian rank, and was called for a time Galatia-Pisidia-Paphlagonia¹ and sometimes Galatia simply (as e.g. in an inscription found at Pisidian Antioch, but still unpublished). It was shorn of large part of its much swollen extent. Armenia and Pontus, both Galaticus and Polemoniaca, were henceforth attached to Cappadocia, a consular *provincia* charged with the eastern policy and (along with Syria) maintaining by its legions and *viae* the frontier defence; while Pisidia in great part, as has been stated, was incorporated in the province Lycia-Pamphylia.

The problem now is to determine the earlier organization of the province, as settled by Augustus. The name is given as Galatia, i.e. the single realm of Amyntas, by Pliny, Ptolemy, Tacitus, etc., and as Γαλατική ἐπαρχία in an inscription of Iconium, A.D. 54. The provincials, *qua* members of a Roman province and of the Roman state, are called Galatae, Γάλαται.² No other name was possible, and no other name is found. People of an Anatolian race, within the province, such as Phrygians, Pisidians, etc. are named accordingly; but such names emphasize the non-Roman and racial character; so, for example, the eight *alae Phrygum* bear the foreign name Phryges, because the auxiliary troops were always named and supposed to be of foreign race, allied to Rome but not Roman. The use of the adjective Γαλατικός geographically in Ptolemy and Act Apost., and in epigraphy, is always the same, and implies 'belonging to or included in the province.'

By a strange freak of fate Mommsen, after a lifetime spent in practising right method and inculcating right principle, proceeded

¹ Lycaonia was usually omitted and Galatic Phrygia subsumed under Pisidia.

² An inscription of Pednelissos, found by an Italian expedition in 1919 or 1920, speaks of πόλις

τῶν Γαλατῶν, a city of the Galatai, i.e. people of the province. Apollonia was a town of the Γάλαται. Examples occur in Tacitus. The point need not be laboured.

at the end of his life, through a purely accidental misinterpretation of a Greek inscription of Bithynia about a *proc. fam. glad.*, to misstate the nature of Galatia Provincia, and even to invent for it a new name which is incorporated in the last Index to *C.I.L.* iii. Much harm may be done by this slip with its wide-reaching consequences; and hence I am reluctantly forced here, and more fully in *J.R.S.* 1918, p. 103, to correct my master and friend and to point out the right path. Dessau has not been misled by the error, and carefully avoids it in the concluding volume of his *Inscr. Lat. Sel. Index*.

C. THE COMMUNE OR KOINON OF GALATIA.—The unity of such a mixed province with its numerous distinct races like that of the similar province Asia, was sought (1) administratively by the government of a legatus and of a procurator Galatiae, (2) on the religious and patriotic imperialist side by the Commune of Galatia, Κοινὸν Γαλατῶν or Κοινὸν τῆς Γαλατίας (two equivalent terms, the former commoner in the early, the latter in the later coins); (3) linguistically by encouraging the use of Greek, which was admitted in all government matters equally with Latin (except that in a law-court the decision must be stated in Latin); (4) socially by pressing on the province the Greek education and custom and civilization.

The last three forces were naturally working in the cities of South Galatia. The agency of the Commune was the chief instrument in advancing the third and fourth purposes, and the most potent influence in advancing the Hellenization and Romanization of the Gallic tribes was found in this association of the whole province to practise the ritual of the Emperor, the Beast or Monster of St. John's Apocalypse.

Those forces which were active in the provincial society, and specially in the Phrygo-Pisidian and South Galatic cities, are hardly susceptible of being traced except in some special and occasional manifestation; their activity was continuous and therefore insensible. The provincials, except perhaps the commonplace sturdy tribesmen who loved war for its own sake,¹ were filled with hearty gratitude to the imperial government, which was really remarkably good in comparison with anything known for centuries in that land, and notably in comparison with later ways of rule. Any such strong emotion in the old West Asiatic lands tended to express itself as the recognition and worship of divine power. The Commune (Κοινὸν Γαλατῶν), though undoubtedly instituted by Augustus, acting through his legatus, was the hearty expression of popular emotion in

¹ This characteristic has been too little observed. It was not without reason that even the Lycaones are described as a warlike and intractable race. They include, it is true, the people of Isaurica, a hilly or even mountainous region; but the plains

of Lycaonia and the Isaurican hills nourished what we must understand from Strabo as a racially identical people. In Lystra, a town of the hills, Lycaonian was spoken (Act. Apost. xiv).

South Galatia, and was even accepted and acquiesced in by the leading families of the Gallic tribes, who were most eager to gain the empty but coveted prizes of imperial favour granted through the legatus.

It must be understood that communications between the Emperor and the provincials were exercised through the governor. Appeals to the Emperor, i.e. to the Supreme Court of the Empire, from provincials, even if Roman citizens (as in the case of St. Paul), must be allowed by the governor.¹ Honours conferred by the Emperor doubtless came by the same channel, as may be gathered from the Pliny-Trajan letters; and doubtless the governor recommended them to the Emperor, though an exception is mentioned in the restored form of an inscription of Ancyra (where the Emperor probably acted on personal initiative as αὐτόπτης of a gladiator's bravery).

In this way the closest relation existed between the legatus, as representing the Emperor's beneficence towards the province, and the Commune as expressing the goodwill and faithful loyalty of the province towards the Emperor. It was the essence of the Commune (Κοινόν) to represent and to act for the whole province. Its power and its very nature lay in this. The same was the case in every other province of the Empire. Huebner² expounded the nature of the Commune in Tarraconensis, and later study in other provinces has confirmed this wherever evidence exists. At the head of the Commune was the Archiereus or Galatarch, and thus the chain of powers formed itself from the Emperor through his legatus and the Highpriest of the province with the Highpriestess and the Sebastophantes with the Sebastophantissa to the ordinary members of the Koinon. The Sebastophantes and his wife (after the analogy of the Hierophantes in the old pagan mysteries) exhibited the sacred things of the imperial religion to the assembly of the Koinon.

The relation between these various officials of, or connected with, the Koinon, and between them and the Helladarch and the 'First of the Province' (πρῶτος and πρώτη τῆς ἐπαρχείας) is not always certain. After long discussion the opinion of Lightfoot in his *Ignatius and Polycarp*³ has been confirmed by Mommsen and is generally accepted; it is based on the facts; Highpriest of the province and Galatarch are practically identical, and First of the Province is almost equivalent, but there was just enough of difference between them to permit the much desired cumulation of two or three titles in respect of one individual. As Mommsen has emphasized, the love for elaborate and high-sounding titles, and for the accumulation of them, was

¹ It has been recognized and emphasized by Mommsen in respect of a Coan inscription that this intermediation of the governor's judgment was required before an appeal 'to Caesar' could go forward. Paton-Hicks *Cos*, no. 26: Mommsen, *Staatsr.*, ed. ii, vol. ii, pp. 258, 931.

² Huebner, *Hermes*, vol. vii (I think).

³ He spoke of the corresponding officers of the province Asia, Asiarch and Highpriest of Asia. This identity has always seemed to me indubitable and inevitable. I corresponded with Lightfoot on this matter, revised his proofs, and learned much from him on this subject as on all others that he wrote about (Cumont, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901, p. 138 f.).

characteristic of the Hellenistic spirit in the province Asia; and the Roman system aimed steadily at encouraging this spirit in all the provinces of Asia Minor generally; for provincial ambition, if directed to such objects, would not become politically dangerous. Galatarch and Asiarch were merely popular varieties of the more elaborate 'Highpriest of the Emperors in the province': 'First of the province' is a title of the Galatarch (see note in *I.G.R.R.* iii, no. 173). but not every Galatarch could be 'First of the province': there must have been some order and succession, which we are unable to trace.¹ A highpriest might not live long enough to attain this dignity. Helladarch and First of the Hellenes are probably honorary expressions, arising from the nature of the Koinon as a hellenizing power; and probably they began to be used when the Koinon had become so completely hellenized as to be really the assembly of the Hellenes of Galatia, a result attained in the second century. The terms Asiarch, Galatarch, were popular formations in the growth of language. Asiarch occurs in the first, but became more frequent in the second century.

D. RELATION OF THE KOINON TO ANCYRA.—The history of the Koinon is the history of the attempt to unify the province, and it is to be gathered from coins and inscriptions, from the analogy of other provinces, and from the situation in Galatia, especially as seen in the provincial capital Ancyra in the first imperial century. It was the capital of the tribe Tektosages; but Strabo, p. 567, who is very discriminating in his use of the term πόλις in Anatolia, calls Ancyra a φρούριον, avoiding the word πόλις. So he calls two such important towns as the Old and the New Isaura κῶμαι; whereas he terms Iconium a small *polis*, and the tiny Phrygian Ancyra to him is a πολίχνη as distinguished from the important Galatic φρούριον Ancyra (p. 567, when he is pointedly distinguishing the two towns). It is, however, true that on rare occasions in remote countries like Egypt, or in the course of general geographical expositions, Strabo uses the term *polis* loosely of a large town settlement without thinking of its constitution and organization (so of Ancyra, p. 287); therefore we shall refrain here from laying special stress on his usage, and base our argument on the coinage. In this respect Ancyra makes no appearance as an autonomous coin-striking πόλις after the Greek fashion until 138–161 A.D.; yet it was one of the garrison centres of Roman strategic policy from 25 B.C.

¹ Among the cities of the eastern provinces there was much competition for the title 'First,' but not every city could claim to be first. Magnesia was content to style itself 'Seventh of Asia'; but Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamos, all arrogated the title 'First.' So Nicomedia and Nicaea in Bithynia, Tarsus and Anazarbos in Cilicia, Amphipolis and

Philippi in their region of Macedonia (Act. Apost. xvi. 12). Such titles were granted by the Emperor on the recommendation of his legatus. A rescript of Pius forbade unauthorized arrogation of the titles by the cities. Whether more than one person could be styled First of Galatia, on the analogy of city rivalry, is uncertain.

Ancyra was made the capital of the new province Galatia because it was Amyntas's capital, though far from convenient for his activities, which were mainly directed to the Taurus and Pisidia ; but, as king of Galatia, he had to accept existing facts : North Galatia was the basis of his kingdom. The Emperor's intention in the new province evidently was to alter existing arrangements as little as possible ; such was the invariable Roman practice in respect of newly acquired territory. Some reorganization was always needed and applied (generally in other cases by a commission, *decemviri*, for settling the province) ; but, wherever consistent with Roman procedure and rule, the old was left undisturbed for the time ; though new arrangements were gradually introduced.

The policy of the Romans preferred the Greek (or rather Graeco-Asiatic) civilization to the native tribal systems alike of the Taurus and of the three Galatian tribes. This is clearly brought out in an inscription, probably dedicated to Lollius, the first governor of the province.¹ As the coinage proves, the development of Ancyra to a real Graeco-Roman πόλις was slow. The tribal Gallic feeling was strong. It was chiefly the Commune of the province that issued coins during the first century, though these coins were struck at Ancyra (as all numismatists recognize).

Ancyra, though the capital of the province, struck no coins of its own during the first century, whereas many hellenized cities of South Galatia were then issuing their own coins.² About A.D. 80 coins of the Sebastene Tektosages began to be struck at Ancyra, bearing the name of the tribe, but not of the city, showing that Ancyra still had not the constitution of a self-governing Hellenic city, but was a tribal centre. In 96-98 a few coins were struck at Ancyra with the name of Nerva on the obverse and the name of the governor Pomponius Bassus on the reverse, mentioning also the name of the city in a quaint series of ligatures ; but here the stress was laid on the imperial administration, and the name of Ancyra was brought in as a secondary matter.

Ancyra from the first was the meeting-place of the Koinon of the Galatians,³ and coins were often struck there bearing on the obverse the name of the Koinon, not of the city. Besides those of Claudius and the governor, Annius Afrinus (see § E), coins of the Koinon were

¹ I may venture to quote J. G. C. Anderson's approval of my statement of this principle of policy, on the margin of a proof of the inscription, when about to be published, *J.H.S.* 1918, pp. 140 and 144. The name of the governor is lost ; but he clearly was acting immediately after 'the king,' i.e. Amyntas, had sought to conciliate the unruly Pisidian peoples by assigning certain disputed territories on the frontier of Phrygia and Pisidia to Pisidia. Roman policy restored these to the Greek city of Apollonia. The decision in each case was due to policy, not to considerations of antiquarian or historical right.

² A coin of Ancyra Metropolis under Nero (Vaillant and Mionnet) cannot be authentic : it was probably misread by Vaillant.

³ I accept the usual opinion. Evidence is lacking ; but the fact is probable, and the style of the communal coins favours it. I would, however, gladly find evidence for occasional meetings of the Koinon elsewhere ; and, in fact, *I.G.R.R.* iii, 223 would be most naturally restored as the record of such a meeting at Pessinus ; but the restoration is not inevitable, for the inscription is a mere fragment (well treated by Perrot).

also struck under Nero and Vespasian and in large numbers under Trajan, A.D. 98–101. Under Vespasian and under Titus the name of the provincial governor, Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa (78–80), appears on the reverse, and the Koinon is added in abbreviation. An interesting coin of the god Antinous was dedicated by Julius Saturninus to the people of Ancyra (A.D. 130–131). None of these groups belong to the class of autonomous coins in the strict sense. The fact that they were struck at Ancyra does not show that it was really a *polis* in the Graeco-Roman sense. The authority was not the city, but the provincial governor,¹ or the provincial Koinon, or the tribe Tektosages. In view of the close relation between the Koinon and the governor, as noted above, coins bearing the names of the governors, sometimes with, sometimes without that of the Koinon, struck at Ancyra, but ignoring the city, emphasized the Roman provincia (i.e. governor and Koinon) at the expense of the capital. The most complete numismatic expression of imperial policy during this period in Galatia is on the coins which unite Emperor, governor and Koinon, but do not name the garrison town (φρούριον) where they were struck.¹ In that town, Ancyra, the imperial policy still did not feel itself at home.

E. THE PERIOD AUGUSTUS TO NERO.—The earliest communal coins are possibly as early as Augustus; they bear the legend: obv. KOINON·ΓΑΛΑ[ΤΩΝ], rev. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ = ‘the Commune of the Augustan Galatians.’ The adjective σεβαστός is here used correctly as an adjective: cp. *via Sebaste* (6th B.C. in South Galatia) on the milestones of the great system of roads along the north edge of Taurus, *via Augusta*, etc.: later Σεβαστηνός was used in this sense among the Gallic tribes,² but strictly Σεβαστηνός means an inhabitant of the city Sebaste. This legend sums up the nature of the Koinon; an inscription of the Augustan period puts the same meaning in the words ‘the Koinon served as priest to Augustus’ ((τὸ Κοινὸν Γαλατῶν ἱεραστάμενον θεῷ Σεβαστῷ, C.I.G. 4039).³

Under Claudius the Commune struck, doubtless at Ancyra, coins bearing the name of the legatus M. Annius Afrinus. This governor evidently played a considerable part in the reorganization of Galatia in the time of Claudius. He also is mentioned on coins of Iconium and of Pessinus as governor. It was the opinion of Waddington and also of Babelon, *Revue Num.* 1887, p. 110, that a bust on the obverse of certain Iconian coins with the name ANNIOC is a portrait of Annius. This opinion is rejected by some authorities as being contrary to

¹ No. 6592 in the Waddington collection (ed. Babelon) is attributed to Galatia, i.e. Ancyra, as we think rightly. Imhoof even attributes to Ancyra a coin of Galba, bearing the Emperor's name also on reverse (*Kleinas. Münzen*, p. 495).

² This is as incorrect as *lex Iuliana* for *lex Iulia*.

³ Mionnet gives a coin of Tiberius with the name of the governor Bassus. It is misread; probably Nerva is the emperor.

post-Augustan usages; but there is too great inclination to erect tendencies in Roman procedure into rigid laws. The Roman policy was successful because it was elastic and could adapt itself to varying conditions. Some of the governors of Galatia were evidently much trusted by the imperial policy from Claudius onwards, and they encouraged the superficial autonomy of Greek and grecizing Gallic cities. Numismatists can hardly avoid identifying this bust as the portrait of the person whose name stands beside it. His name appears only on one inscription of the province so far as yet known. This inscription was found by Hamilton at a village Yali-Eyuk on the southern bank of Lake Trogitis, a very secluded part of the province. It is a dedication to the Emperor Claudius by the governor himself,¹ and can hardly be understood otherwise than as indicating his personal presence in that remote region, where probably hardly any Roman governor went after the Homanadensian war was finished. Probably some special business connected with the reorganization of the southern frontier of the province took him to this place near the religious centre Homana or Komana on a point overlooking the lake. The relation of that hieratic centre to the government and the people would inevitably need regulation. Circumstances at the close of the Homanadensian War made a permanent settlement with the governing priests difficult. The priestly families persisted and were powerful under the Empire (*Class. Rev.* *J.H.S.* 1918; pp. 146, 162).

There are three facts to take into consideration: (1) The epithet 'Claudian' was granted to several cities of southern Galatia at this time, Seleuceia on the west side of the Limnai, Iconium, and Derbe. (2) The name Claud-Iconium appears on the coins of the city which mention this governor. (3) Roman administrative principles suggest that an inscription to a governor was allowed by him to be erected when he visited a town and conferred some benefaction.

We therefore come to the conclusion that it was through Afrinus that Claudius, probably in the early part of his reign, conducted a general reorganization of southern Galatia (and also in the province widely, e.g. at Pessinus),² and that Annius himself was the agent in granting the Claudian title to three cities in the southern part of the province.³ He conducted this important work of administration with care, after personal inspection, visiting at least Iconium and

¹ By error of Hamilton no. 442 or of the engraver the *cognomen* appears as Africanus. Hamilton is not likely to have made the error of adding a syllable; but he may have formed a theory, and unconsciously transformed Afri-nus into the familiar Afri-ca-nus.

² Pessinus was more early hellenized than Ancyra. It long held its independence, and five of the ten priests in the governing *collegium* were of the old families and five were Gauls, according to the

compromise agreed on during the second century B.C.

³ The epithet is a recognition of loyalty in the past and an anticipation of similar conduct in the future. One understands how much meaning lies in such an epithet when one thinks what a difference there would have been in Irish history, if Dublin had at any time during the reign of Queen Victoria been willing to accept the title 'Victorian Dublin,' or if there had ever been any such offer of recognition. The imperial policy was constructive.

Homana, probably also Seleuceia and Derbe (to which, of course, Pisidian Antioch may be added as situated on his road and as being the administrative and military centre of South Galatia).

The period of reorganization of South Galatia generally was from 6 B.C. (the clean-up after the Homanadensian war) onwards to about A.D. 50, and Annus marks the conclusion. Midway, the refoundation of the Orondian centre as Tiberiopolis-Pappa points to the regulation by the imperial policy of the great Orondian estates of the Zizimene Mother. Later came the reorganization of the Gallic tribes of the north. This was a more difficult business, and long engaged Roman attention. It began with Annus and was completed by Trajan, Hadrian, and Pius.

With Claudius and Annus Afrinus (c. 41-50) South Galatia passes out of the purview of Roman history, and Pauline history begins in the region, A.D. 45. The coincidence is worthy of note. The old gave place to the new, being ready for it. 'The fulness of the times had come.' The imperial development had run its course, and reached its goal.¹ So far as the Graeco-Roman civilization was concerned, there is practically nothing more to record: Mommsen in his admirable sketch of the character of the province Asia has said all that there is to say about the character of the cities of South Galatia. The Roman colonists of Pisidian Antioch still constituted a sort of aristocracy (as is evident from inscriptions and in the last verses of Act. Apost. xiii), but the Romans of the Pisidian and Lycaonian colonies, Olbasa, Comama, Cremna, Parlais and Lustra were smaller bodies of population originally, and practically were lost in the Helleno-Pisidian or Helleno-Phrygian or Helleno-Lycaonian population already in the period A.D. 50-100. The same occurred in Antioch during the second century.

Later even Hellenism disappeared. The old Anatolian ground-stock, with a superficial veneer of Hellenism that was only temporary, after apparently submitting to the West, began in the second or third century to reassert itself, and during the fourth to the sixth centuries became more and more dominant. Then came the three centuries of war against the Arabs and Islam, 660-965. The Anatolian rejected that Moslem revival of mixed Jewish and heretic Christian elements, and reasserted its natural character. The remarkable story of the Anatolian families represented by the names Leo Phokas, Bardas Phokas and Bardas Skleros² in the ninth century reveals a frankly

¹ This applies to the hellenized cities, but not to the peasantry, whose development was very different: We must await Rostoffzeff's promised Roman Imperial History before touching that side. The Empire rested on the cities, and was broken as they were broken. In the East it re-created itself.

² Bardakome, revealed by an inscription of Dedeler, NE. from the railway station of Serai-iñi,

was evidently the centre of the property of the great family that bore the name Bardas. It is still a common Anatolian custom to name a village after the owner of the property, and this name supplies the old local name. The older often returned and the new vanished as conditions changed.

Anatolian type of men attempting to make themselves in a rather blind and unintellectual fashion masters of the Roman Empire. For this big aim they were not mentally qualified: they were only large, strong fighting men, fond of combat in an individual personal style, always able to rally round themselves a force of Anatolian friends and retainers on their great estates in support of their personal claims and quarrels, but unfit to use those armies effectively and strategically against the power of the Empire.

It is in those great families that Anatolia finds its true nature and its power. We trace their revival in the third and fourth centuries, after they had apparently been lost under the pseudo-democratic system of Hellenism. Their fighting peasants repelled the Arabs. We see them reviving after the Seljuk-Turkish conquest in the end of the eleventh century after the great Byzantine defeats of Manzikert, 1071, and Tzyvritzi-Kleisoura, 1176. The Ottoman (Osmanli) sultans left them nearly untouched, until the 'reformer' Mahmud II, 1810-1837, made the ruinous blunder of trying to europeanize and centralize the rickety power of the Sultans. Mahmud did not know and could not learn that a europeanized system must be founded on education and rigid bureaucratic training (such as Augustus had systematized in the Roman Empire, finding it unregulated but existent in the Republic which he organized into an Empire). Mahmud and his successors succeeded in destroying the old Anatolian families and with them the capacity of Anatolia (on which has always been founded the strength of the Turkish Empire). The Turkish peasant of Anatolia is really the old Anatolian peasant, little changed, with the same easy-going ways, the same readiness to accept the situation, and to submit to any ruler (except one who outrages his religion and his domestic life), the same power of hard manual labour, the same cheerful quaintly humorous outlook on the world, the same capacity for being roused to a strong religious fanaticism which ordinarily is quite alien to him. Aesop of Kotiaion (Kutaya) is turcized into Hodja Nazreddin of Ak-Sheher (Philomelion). The modern Anatolian peasant who guides you to the old Hittite religious rock-relief at Ibriz wears almost the same dress as the old Peasant-god who on the rock embodies to the eye the religious idea that the god is the eternal peasant, whose labour subdues the earth to the use of man and forms the basis on which rest the State and the King. Yet one great difference in dress between old and new is evident; the peasant does not wear the cap of power that rests on the god's head.

Details of this long history fail almost completely in South Galatia, but the historical imagination must restore it from vivid sympathy with the people and the comprehension of what they were and are. Epigraphy has almost perished except in Apollonia and Antioch; but on the whole, in spite of the great blanks, the Anatolian peasant and the old Phrygian peasant can be best studied on the South Galatic

plains.¹ We now turn to North Galatia, the home of the three Gaulish tribes.

F. THE PERIOD NERO TO TRAJAN.—Coins of the Commune were struck (at Ancyra) under Nero with the legend ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝΓΑΛΑΤΩΝ and under Vespasian-Titus the name of the governor Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa is added. Under Vespasian also the tribe Tektosages (legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ·ΤΕΚΤΟΣΑΓΩΝ) was allowed to strike coins at Ancyra, i.e. the city was still treated as only a central town of the tribe. This recognition of the Gallic tribe implies that the Flavian policy wavered in North Galatia. The remarkable fact is that, while many coins were struck at Ancyra, no coins of Ancyra were allowed. The persistence of the Gallic tribes furnishes the measure and limit of the success of Roman policy.

Under Nerva the name of Ancyra appears in a semi-monogrammatic form beside the full name of the governor Pomponius Bassus ; but this example was not continued. A large and varied emission of communal coins was made under Trajan A.D. 99-101 with the name of this same governor.² The conjunction of Emperor, Legatus and Koinon without the city-name is an exaltation of the imperial side of the province at the expense of Ancyra and the tribal system. Those coins of Bassus and Trajan and Koinon are a notable fact, especially as they are the latest communal coinage. That emperor allowed those communal coins, but after Bassus (who represented a strongly-marked tendency) left the province in 101, Trajan changed that policy, and did not allow the Koinon to strike coins again. Does this imply that its work was complete, that the Galatia of the Koinon had now become the Hellenes of Galatia in assembly, giving rise to the title Helladarch, practically equal to Galatarch ? Or does it mean that the Koinon was unsuited for the work that had now to be done ? Perhaps both.³

In that great series uniting the Emperor, the governor Bassus and the Koinon the reverse type is generally the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra, sometimes Zeus or Good Fortune or the god Mên. The last type is interesting : it completes the chain connecting Mên Pharnakou of Pontus with Mên Askaênos of southern Phrygia and Pisidia, and Mên Tiamou or Tyrannos of east Lydia. The Ancyran tribe Mênorizeitai implies an old cult of Mên. Pomponius carried out the imperial policy (of Domitian ?) to foster the Koinon ; the Koinon, however, represented the province Galatia, while the *polis* Ancyra was still ignored.⁴

¹ 'The Turkish Peasant of Anatolia,' *Quart. Review*, 1918, p. 49.

² Mionnet in one case adds ΔΑ (Dacicus) to the titles of Trajan, but his authority on a matter of reading is insufficient. This title would imply a later date.

³ Hadrian remodelled the Oecumenical Union of Dionysiac artists, with a religious service (of course imperial religion), and held a meeting at Ancyra

(*A.E.M.O.* 1885, p. 130, from a very incomplete copy).

⁴ About this time the great cities of the province named the governor on their coins : Tyana, Ancyra and Caesarea honoured Pomponius, Cybistra honoured Ruso, Caesarea and Ancyra honoured Neratius Pansa and Caesennius Gallus (79-81). The only earlier case was Annius Afrinus at Iconium and Pessinus.

It appears from inscriptions that Pomponius Bassus was an important agent in carrying out an active policy on the eastern or north-eastern frontier of the province. His activity in road-making is attested by numerous milestones, and his name appears on many coins struck in the province of Galatia-Cappadocia, at Caesarea, Tyana and Ancyra. No other coins were struck at Ancyra until the time of Pius, with the single exception that the governor Saturninus struck a coin dedicating the god Antinous to the people of Ancyra; but this is not in the strict sense a coin of the *polis*. It was obviously struck when Antinous was deified after his death in 130, and doubtless implies that a statue of the new god was dedicated at that time, whether by the Koinon, or by the Dionysiac Artists, or the city, or the imperial governor; the type and legend suggest that the city, acting through the provincial governor, recognized the god and dedicated his statue (probably in the *comitium*). This is an anti-Gaulish symptom, and marks the success of Hadrian in carrying out the imperial grecizing policy.

These facts of coinage show that as late as A.D. 101 the Emperors relied much on the unifying Koinon of Galatia, and that any Ancyran claims to autonomy in the degree permitted to Pisidian Antioch and even to secondary cities, like Apollonia and Iconium and many other towns of South Galatia, was discouraged until near the middle of the second century. The reason is clear. The Roman policy frowned on the free tribal Gaulish system of the north, and favoured the hellenized type of social organization that ruled in the southern part of the province. Ancyra must hellenize itself before it could be permitted to develop any individuality; the *polis* character must come first; and this change of character in the city and in the imperial policy, though fostered by Hadrian, did not become supreme until the reign of Pius. With rare exceptions the Emperor, the governor, and the unifying Koinon of the province with its Archiereus or Galatarch were the important names and powers before Hadrian. Hellenization of the stubborn Gaulish element was clearly marked in Ancyra as the result of Hadrian's action¹ and was recognized by Pius. But the Gaulish character continued strong in the rural districts until the fourth century; the Celtic speech did not disappear until that period; a Celtic deity was discovered by Anderson, still worshipped in the third century (p. 150, n. 3).

The Koinon did not cease to exist although it had no longer the right of coinage. Probably there occurred in 101 some reorganization of the Koinon of the Galatians by Trajan, as is suggested by the inscription mentioned in the note on this page.

Emperor and governor on coins struck at Ancyra, etc., show deliberate exaltation of the Roman *provincia* at the expense of the

¹ See *A.E.M.O.* 1885, p. 130 (*I.G.R.R.* iii, no. 210, cp. 202, 211) from a very incomplete copy. Ulpius Aelius Pompeianus was of South Galatia,

and his father made a dedication at the Sanctuary of Mén Askaēnos, at Antioch Pisid.

capital city. The conjunction of Emperor and Koinon implies a definite Roman policy of strengthening the influence of the Koinon as the unifying agent in the province. The conjunction of Emperor and governor and Koinon without the city-name exalts the imperial factor at the expense of the native tribal system.

From this sketch of the coinage, unique in character as it was and complicated, there emerges a principle. Ancyra as the centre of the tribe Tektosages was not favoured by the Emperors; as the meeting-place of the Koinon of the province it was encouraged, and imperial policy made it the seat of the Roman government of the *provincia*. The reason for this was partly prescriptive right; Ancyra had been the capital of the Galatian kingdom bequeathed to Augustus,¹ just as Pergamos had been the capital of the Attalid kingdom bequeathed to the Roman people and made into the province Asia. In each case the former capital continued to be the capital of the Roman province, although in Asia Pergamos was an inconvenient seat of Roman administration, for Ephesus was far better situated as the harbour looking towards Rome and as centre of roads for the administration of the province. The analogy is striking. In each case the town where a king had ruled over his own people and subject lands, had been necessarily the capital of the kingdom, and was continued as such, though not always the best centre of the Roman province.

There was, however, a second reason. The province Galatia expressed the force of Roman frontier policy. The limits of the Empire were gradually moving eastwards, and the relation of Rome to the States of Pontus, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Armenia and Bosphorus could not be controlled from any place in the southern part of the province. The Roman armies moved through Ancyra in the reign of Trajan and of Hadrian, as we know from inscriptions.² The military centre of the southern part of the province was Antioch, but it was convenient only for the subjugation and organization of the Taurus mountain region; and after that process was complete the imperial significance of Antioch gradually died out during the first century A.D. But the history of the province Galatia is 'the history of Roman policy in its gradual advance towards the Euphrates frontier, a long slow process, in which the Roman genius was exerted to the utmost to influence and impress, to educate and discipline, the population of the various countries taken into the Province Galatia.'³ Ancyra was the centre of this process; but, in order to render the town quite safe for the purpose, it had to be de-gallicized and to be made Graeco-Roman. The honorific title Helladarch is a sufficient proof of the importance attached to the hellenizing of Ancyra: it ranks among the highest titles there, and is practically equivalent to *πρωτος των Ελληνων των εν τη Γαλατικη επαρχια*.

¹ *κληρονομια* according to Strabo, xii, 8, 14, p. 577.

² *I.G.R.R.* iii, 208.

³ I may venture to quote from myself 27 years ago, *Hist. Comm. on Ep. to Galatians*, p. 113.

It is a striking fact that Trajan and Hadrian¹ encouraged Ancyra as a centre of the imperial strategy, while denying full autonomy to the town. It can hardly be doubted that this is connected with the development of the new road from Rome to the East. Whereas the Augustan road to the East led through Brundisium and along the Egnatian Way by Philippi and Troas, convenience and even safety required a better path. That older way was too much dependent upon sea-crossing, and communication was liable to be disturbed by storms in the passage of the Adriatic Sea, which were dangerous to ancient ships. Before the time of Trajan there had been no complete and sufficient organization of the provinces along the Lower Danube and of the province of Thrace; and therefore the land-road was impossible; but Trajan perceived (perhaps even Vespasian or Domitian had perceived) the need of a land-road to the East not dependent upon the chances of weather during the winter months. This road passed along the Flaminia Via, then through Aquileia, crossed the Julian Alps, descended the valley of the Save, and near Belgrad joined the line of the modern railway and the mediaeval line of communication (coming from Paris down the Danube valley), going on through Serdica, Philippopolis, and Hadrianople to cross the Bosphorus at Byzantium, and on across the Sangarios to Ancyra and the east or south-east.

One interesting fact of latinization is to be elicited from *C.I.G.* 4019 where the 'Comitium' at Ancyra is probably meant by the strange local name kom(ok)etion. This reading is certain, being attested by the independent copy of Mr. R. Campbell Thompson; but the name can hardly be accepted as it stands. I take it that the syllable 'ok' is an intrusion, being due either to a fault of the engraver or to a popular misrendering of the Latin name at Ancyra. Epsilon takes the place of the Latin 'i' in ῥεγέων, λεγέων, κομέτιον, etc.

G. ASSEMBLY OF THE KOINON, IX *Kal. Oct.* A.D. 101.—Some change of imperial policy is marked by the cessation of communal coinage in 101–102; and by a fortunate chance the record of the meeting of the Koinon in September 101 has been preserved and is published by Domaszewski, but its nature is concealed by a false restoration (*A.E.M.O.* 1885, p. 119 f, no. 81). Perrot's restoration (*I.G.R.R.* iii, 223) of the exordium of a similar inscription at Pessinus shows the correct form. The Pessinuntine inscription is unfortunately very incomplete: it records a meeting in A.D. 79 of some Association, possibly the Koinon, or the *coloni* of the estates of the goddess which probably had passed into the *dominium* of Augustus, or the Assembly of the tribe Tolistobogii,² in the worship of the

¹ I can only briefly refer to a great fact of imperial communication, and must omit quotation of ancient authorities.

² Probably the Koinon always met in Ancyra, capital of the province; see note p. 157.

Emperors and Domitian Caesar. Inscriptions of this type (praying for the Imperial Salvation) are known by many examples (especially in Prov. Galatia).¹ Domaszewski's inscription gives a complete decree of the provincial Assembly, only two or three names of delegates being lost. It illuminates the constitution and organization of the province ; and yet it merely confirms what the writer has long assumed on the authority implied in the statement of Act. Apost. and Paul's Epist. Gal. and on the analogy of other provinces where the imperial religious basis of the provincial unity was better known.

The inscription falls into three parts (1) Exordium.

Domaszewski's Text and
Restoration²:

- 1A. [Ἐπὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καί-]
2A. [σαρος T. Αἰλίου Ἀντω-]
3A. [νίνου εὐσεβοῦς ἀρχ-]
4A. [ιερέως μεγίστου δημ-]

1. αρχικῆ]ς ἐξουσίας τὸ..
ὑπάτ]ου τὸ δ' ἀνέθηκαν
3. τὴν σ]τήλην καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἡγε-
μονεύοντος Π. Ἀλφίου Μαξιμο(ῦ),
5. ἀρχιερωμένου M. Παπυρίου Μον-
τανοῦ, σεβαστοφαντοῦσης Κλ. Β(α)λ-
7. βείνης νεωτέρας, ἱεροφαντοῦντος
δὶά βίου Ἰουλίου Αἰλίου Ἰουλιανοῦ.

Proposed Restoration
(I.G.R.R. iii, 162):

- 1A. [Γαλατῶν τὸ κοινόν]
2A. [ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτο-]
3A. [κράτορος Καίσαρος]
4A. [Νερούα Τραιανοῦ Σεβ.]
5A. [Γερμ. ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου]
1. δημαρχικῆ]ς ἐξουσίας τὸ ε
2. ὑπάτ]ου τὸ δ' ἀνέθηκαν
3. τὴν σ]τήλην καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα
κτλ. as in Dom. 3-8.

Date between A.D. 145 and 161.³

Date A.D. 101, IX Kal. Oct.³

(2) Then follows a list of 92 names of the delegates (3 lost) present to perform the religious rites in honour of the Emperor. It would require a photograph to show the arrangement of the names. Domaszewski himself remarks that this is the case. The printing of the names in regular lines and two regular columns is not sufficient to show the true nature of the list.

(3) After the list of names comes the conclusion :

τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Κυρίου Σεβα-
στοῦ καὶ τὸν τίτλον, σὺν ταῖς
γραφαῖς, τοῖς ἱερουργοῖς
Τιβ. Κλ. Στρατόνεικος ἐκ τῶν
ιδίῳν ἀνέστησεν.

¹ The two large groups of the Tekmoreian and Killanian inscriptions are good examples of the unification of groups of imperial Galatic estates in a religious Association : the Tekmoreian in *Studies in the History of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 319 ff, completed in *J.H.S.*, 1912, p. 151 ff, and *Annual of the British School of Athens*, 1911-12, pp. 54-76 ; The Killanian inscriptions in Sterrett, *E.J.*, nos. 38-78, and Ramsay, *C.B.Pbr.* i, pp. 280-315.

² Domaszewski did not see the stone, but used an impression which was brought to him. I am indebted to Dr. Keil's courtesy for sending me the impression, preserved at Vienna.

³ The date is treated at a later point. It would, however, be immaterial so far as the character of the inscription and the opening formula are concerned whether the date is 101 or 145-161. The lettering I place unhesitatingly much earlier than 145 A.D.

First as to the date of Domaszewski's inscription. Domaszewski rightly holds that it cannot be later than Pius or earlier than Trajan (it was inscribed under an Emperor who held a fourth consulship, therefore not under Hadrian), and he prefers Pius, but the contrary arguments are very strong. Many of the delegates at the assembly take their Roman names from Emperors of the Flavian and the Claudian and even the Julian dynasties; and several of the names suggest pre-Augustan times and connexion. In other words, their families were admitted to the Roman citizenship under those dynasties or in the republican time. On the other hand, none of the members of the association in this assembly take their *nomen* from Trajan or Hadrian. To any one familiar with Anatolian epigraphy this consideration seems conclusive: the date cannot be later than Trajan; the fourth consulship of Trajan would admit a date either in 101 or 102. There is nothing that points to the established rule of the Aelian Emperors, with the solitary exception of one salient fact (which is the only reason quoted by Domaszewski) that in l. 8 a priestly Hierophant called Julius Aelius Julianus is mentioned. We see, however, that this man is a member of a family whose *nomen* goes back to the Julian period. Aelius and Julianus are names which have been assumed, for one reason or another unknown, during the continuance of the family. See note added on p. 186.

The occurrence of this second *nomen* (almost used as a pseudocognomen) does not justify the placing of the inscription between 145 and 161 (as Domaszewski did). If this were the only personal name, and if there were no other means of determining the date of the inscription, Domaszewski's reasoning would be accepted as probable; but the nomenclature, as a whole, is evidently pre-Trajan.

A strong argument in favour of A.D. 101 is derived from the member of the Council mentioned in l. 8, Ti. Claudius Bocchus. He was the father of Ti. Claudius Procillianus, *I.G.R.R.* iii, 194. Now, as has been pointed out by M. Haussoullier, this Ti. Cl. Procillianus is in all probability identical with Ti. Claudius Procillianus, who is mentioned as a *Hymnodos* of the Emperor and of Rome in a Pergamenian inscription of the time of Hadrian.¹ The fact that Bocchus stands first in our Galatian list shows that he was already a man of outstanding position in the Koinon of the Galatians, likely either to have been already, or to be on the way to become, Galatarch. The fact that the son Procillianus was filling a high priestly office under Hadrian suggests that the father Bocchus would naturally be filling a similar class of office under Trajan, about 25-30 years earlier.

The date, therefore, is A.D. 101, and the Emperor for whose

¹ If we may judge from names, there were some interesting relations between one or more great families at Thyatira and Pergamos and Akmonia and Ancyra, see e.g. *Revue des Univ. du Midi*, 1901,

p. 277. The name Servenius is found at Akmonia, and at Apollonia Pisid. Phr. and Ancyra. Cornutus was derived from the governor of Galatia about 6 B.C., Cornutus Arruntius Aquila.

salvation the council of the Galatians makes its vow must be restored as Trajan.

Domaszewski would have been entitled to use the name Ti. Claudius Scapula, in favour of his dating, taking the view that this representative derived his cognomen from C. Julius Scapula, governor of Galatia under Hadrian¹; but the family was an old Roman family which received the civitas under Claudius, and an individual member of such a family may have taken a cognomen from some source unknown to us. Date is shown much better by nomen than by cognomen.

Again, Domaszewski's restoration of the lost lines at the opening of the present inscription *I.G.R.R.* iii, 162 cannot be accepted, and probably he would regard his suggestion as a mere makeshift, on the accuracy of which he set no store.² His restoration begins with a date given by the year of an Emperor. Then follows the central word defining the action of certain persons, ἀνέθηκαν; but Domaszewski gives for the verb no nominative; obviously, its nominative is needed and must be restored in the beginning of the inscription.³ After the verb follows a second more elaborate dating by the governor and the high priest of the province and other officials of the provincial cult, i.e. the Koinon. Double dating is unnecessary, while a nominative must be found. When the proper nominative is introduced all becomes clear; some important Association or Assembly performed the action (ἀνέθηκαν). The nature and name of the Association here met in assembly is shown by a concurring variety of considerations.

1. The imperial cult was the keystone of the imperial organization; through it the unification of the great Empire was being wrought out by the imperial policy; and the imperial cult was organized through the Koinon of each province, presided over by the high-priest of the province. The lost nominative to the verb in l. 2 is obviously the society or gathering which made the dedication, meeting under the presidency of the high-priest of Galatia, M. Papirius Montanus. This great meeting, presided over by the high-priest, must necessarily be the Koinon of the Galatians. The principles involved are universally acknowledged and admitted. The lost first line therefore must be restored Γαλάτων τὸ κοινόν, The Galatai in Assembly made a dedication, viz. a stele recording the names of all the delegates who attended the meeting.

¹ If the individual had been named P. Aelius Scapula, this would have been an almost certain proof that the family was enfranchised under Hadrian as Emperor and C. Julius Scapula as governor (see also p. 181); but Ti. Claudius Scapula permits no such inference.

² His learning and high position as a scholar have made the world accept his suggestion in the restored text.

³ It is impossible to take the long list of signatures as the subject to ἀνέθηκαν, for the names are the principal part of the dedication and are recorded as proof of the loyalty of the whole province, which they represent. The members assembled (ἱερούργοι) are the servants of the Emperor gathered in religious assembly to perform the ἱερά: the Emperor is their lord and god and master (κύριος).

Now what was the purpose of the meeting? This also must have been stated at the beginning: the purpose must have concerned the Emperor. The Koinon met for the cult of the Emperor, and the name of the Emperor was, as the remains show, mentioned in the exordium. In accordance with the analogy of numerous other dedications of similar religious character with similar long lists of names, there is no doubt that the dedication was on behalf of the Imperial Salvation (σωτηρία τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ). This gives the exordium. The inscription as printed is the most important of many similar lists of other Associations which have been found in various parts of the provinces Galatia and Asia. The list of names is an important feature.¹ All the delegates in this case, present at the meeting of the Koinon, consider themselves as the servants of the imperial god, and record their names as such: by assembling they are complying with a religious duty, by which the 'patriotism' and sense of unity in the Empire was strengthened.

2. That the inscription records a meeting of the Koinon of the Galatians is proved by the conjunction of Emperor, legatus, and high-priest of the province and the Koinon (as shown above).² After the usual and regular formula expressing their duty to the Emperor and their prayer for his salvation, the assembled delegates dedicated the stele with their names as a record of their duty (στήλην καὶ ὀνόματα). As to the lady whose name follows that of the high-priest, viz. Claudia Balbina, it is natural to infer from this juxtaposition that she is his wife; but she is not styled high-priestess; she is called the Sebastophantissa of the (municipal?) Mysteries of the Emperor. Next, the name and office of the Hierophant (demonstrator of the Mysteries, i.e. the religious acts, in the imperial and religious assembly) are mentioned. The sequence of these four officials, governor of the province, high-priest, Sebastophantissa, and Hierophant, shows clearly the characteristic union of imperial loyalty, imperial religion, and local religion, which Augustus sought to establish in all the Koina, or provincial Assemblies; and the sequence suggests that the high-priest was also during this year Sebastophant, and that Claudia Balbina was his wife, the second office alone being mentioned in her case. Numerous analogies make it

¹ Compare (1) the numerous records in the Killanian plain on the Killanian or Hadrianian estates. The worshippers are the body of *coloni*, uniting in prayer for the Salvation of their Lord (and Lady) as a collegium (μύσται Διὸς Σαουαζίου). These were found by MM. Duchesne and Collignon. The publication, however, in *B.C.H.* 1878, pp. 246 ff, was unsuccessful, because their nature was not properly recognized at that time. Sterrett has a better edition from independent copies, *E. J.* pp. 39 ff. Their nature was recognized and many improvements made in *C.B. Pbr.* i, ch. viii. (2) The great Tekmoreian inscription was unintel-

ligible, until it was recognized as a dedication for the Imperial Salvation (*J.H.S.* 1883, p. 23 and Sterrett, *W.E.* p. 227). The beginning of an explanation of it was made in *Studies in Eastern Roman Provinces* (last paper) and continued in *J.H.S.* 1912, p. 151 ff. Comparison of these long, some almost perfect, lists, as records of Assemblies of Servants of the Emperor making vows on his behalf, is instructive. Others are found in Asia, viz. small assemblies of the Emperor's 'servants' on estates.

² ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν, *I.G.R.R.* iii, 204, 205.

practically certain that the lady whose name follows immediately that of the high-priest must be his wife.

3. Claudia Balbina is called the younger, i.e. her mother, Claudia Balbina the elder, was still living. In *I.G.R.R.* iii, 191, we have an inscription in honour of the elder lady, who was of royal descent and πρώτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων¹; but that inscription leaves her exact date uncertain. Her husband was a consular, also of unknown date, Cl. Arrianus. The phylarch who erected the inscription in her honour (probably after her death) was M. Fl. A She had nobly discharged the expensive *munera* of the city, but these are not enumerated. The names would point to the first quarter of the second century (*I.G.R.R.* 191); the *nomina* Flavius and Claudius would continue in each family from generation to generation so long as it lasted. The younger Claudia Balbina may have been about 36 years old in 101 (ix Kal. Oct.) and her mother died before or about A.D. 130, and was then honoured with the inscription *I.G.R.R.* iii, 191 which (in accordance with a frequent custom) was intended to be engraved on her tomb.

4. The sole bond of unity and the only foundation for a wide patriotism in the Empire and the Province lay in devotion to the Emperor's person. The Salvation of the Emperor was the object of all prayers and vows made by these provincial assemblies, and by assemblies of *coloni* on imperial estates. I restore simply ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, but the form may have been longer, e.g. ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ αἰδίου διαμονῆς = 'The Galatai, meeting in the Koinon and praying for the Salvation and eternal continuance of Emperor Trajan under the government of Alfius and the high-priesthood of Papirius, dedicated the stele and their names (as worshippers and servants of the Emperor).' The meaning is exactly the same whether the shorter or the longer restoration is adopted, for Salvation includes eternal continuance, and involves the act of prayer.

5. The inscription connects the events with the governor Alfius; but other facts (see above) connect a great epoch in the history of the Koinon with the governor Pomponius; and the inscription belongs to the year 101, when Pomponius left Galatia and Alfius arrived; the policy of the governors was the imperial policy. Now the date when Pomponius governed Galatia is fixed to about 95-101.² The next governor of the great province Galatia-Cappadocia whose name is recorded, is Calvisius Ruso, about 104-107. Accordingly in A.D. 101, under the newly arrived Alfius, on IX Kal. Oct. the meeting of the Koinon was held, consummating the policy which Pomponius

¹ There can be no doubt, after what has been proved in *I.G.R.R. loc. cit.* and Mommsen, *Berl. Akad. Sitz.* 1901, p. 28, that this title implies that she was wife of a (past or present) high-priest of the province or Galatarch, i.e. first of the Hellenes (of Galatia: see above, p. 155).

² The sole authority for extending Pomponius's government to 102 is a coin on which Mionnet reads the title ΔΑΚΙΚΟΣ of Trajan; but readings vouched for by Mionnet alone are dubious (cf. *supra*, p. 162, note 2).

had already been putting into action, and inaugurating a new step.

6. Here arises the question on what day of the year would the assembly of the Galatians meet? As to this there is practically no doubt. It met on 23rd September (IX Kal. Oct.), the birthday of Augustus. This is proved not merely by the inevitable consideration that the assembly, instituted by Augustus for the purpose of unifying his province by uniting it in the service of Rome and himself, would meet on his birthday; but also by the fortunate discovery of that date as the day when meetings of the Tekmoreian religious Association of the *coloni* on the large imperial estates near Antioch in the province Galatia took place.¹ The great group of inscriptions recording the meetings of the Association on those Galatian estates belong all to the third century.² They bear witness to a revivification of the close relationship between the Emperor and his people on his estates. They belong indeed to a totally different period from this meeting of the Koinon of the Galatians, and they show a certain difference of religious and social spirit, for the imperial religion had become then a coalition between the Imperial organization and a revived paganism with new ceremonies added to the old. Yet even in the middle of the third century, amid such totally different circumstances, the day of assembly continued to be the birthday of Augustus, first lord of the Galatian province and first Roman owner of those estates.

As to the name of the Koinon, coins struck at Ancyra under Nero and Augustus (?) have the legend KOINON·ΓΑΛΑΤΩΝ, under Trajan TO·KOINON·THC·ΓΑΛΑΤΙΑC. Inscriptions use the form ΓΑΛΑΤΩΝ·TO·KOINON. There does not appear to be any real difference in meaning³: compare KOINON·ACIAC, KOINON·ΦΡΥΓΙΑC, KOINON·ΠΟΝΤΟΥ etc., but KOINON·KPHTΩΝ, ΘΕCCAΛΩΝ, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ, ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ, etc. If there was any principle underlying the variation between country and people, it escapes us at present. I restore in ΙΑ Γαλατῶν τὸ κοινόν to justify the plural ἀνέθηκαν. The form κοινὸν τῆς Γαλατίας would call rather for ἀνέθηκεν, but the bold opening with the name of the people tends to suggest the plural idea.⁴ Collective nouns, however, are used with either plural or singular verb very freely.

7. These arguments leave no doubt; but to complete the proof the question should be put whether there was any other Assembly where the governor and the high-priest of the province could be associated

¹ *Annual B.S.A.* 1911-12, p. 63.

² One may perhaps be earlier than A.D. 200. Its early date is marked by the fact that the name *Xenoi Tekmoreioi* had not come into use. That name, applied to a much older religious association of cultivators of the Emperor's estates, was intended to emphasize the loyal and antichristian character.

³ E.g. a coin of Poppaea is quoted by Mionnet (a rather doubtful authority) with *Koinon Galatias*, while coins of Nero have *Γαλατῶν*.

⁴ It is different in *C.I.G.* 4039, *Γαλατῶν τὸ κοινὸν ἱερασάμενον θεῷ σεβαστῷ*: the Koinon as a body acts as priest to Augustus. In our inscription each delegate is thought of as joining in the dedication and signing his name in the list.

with these other officials. The only possibility that suggests itself is that a great ceremony of the city Ancyra might have brought together to the celebration those officers and priests. Such an Assembly, however, was only a municipal show, and the convoking of 92 outstanding persons of the province and the solemn dedication of their names as the purpose of the meeting is totally inconsistent with a town show, however brilliant. Moreover, this assembly was religious, and the 92 came together as *ἱερούργοι*.

8. The list of names is, as the text intimates (l.3), the important part of the inscription. It is evidently an attempt to reproduce on stone a list of signatures inscribed on paper by the representatives or delegates of the cities and districts of Galatia, chosen according to some method unknown to us, but certainly eminent persons.¹ The list was intended to be in two columns; but some of the delegates signed at greater length than the space afforded by one column, and encroached on the second column or added the conclusion of their signature in a second line, and in one case at least this second line of a signature is mixed up with the following signature in the same column. There seems little doubt that the signatures at the Christian Council of Nicaea A.D. 325 were arranged in the same fashion, and that the arrangement of the Nicene names according to provinces was made after the Council; and it is possible that the incompleteness of the list according to provinces may be due in part to mistakes made in the rearrangement of the names according to provinces. This is part, but not the sole, cause of the fact that, whereas there were 318 bishops present, yet the rearranged lists according to provinces give only 218 or 221, or even only 165, showing that many of the names had perished. The only list which contains 318 names is the Arabic (which is not arranged according to provinces). Some speculations by the writer on the way in which the names gradually perished from the lists are printed in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1917, p. 281 f. The analogy between the records of a meeting of the Koinon of Galatia and the records of the First Oecumenical Christian Council is an important and interesting fact.

It is a striking fact that the names are expressed almost universally after the Greek fashion. There are among them many names of Roman citizens, but most of them are concealed under a grecized form.² These are the outstanding men of Provincia Galatia, and if the epigraphic record of the cities of that province were preserved, we might hope to recognize many of them; but owing to lack of epigraphic remains we can identify only a few. It was of the essence of the Koinon to represent and unify the whole province as it was originally formed, and the Roman policy aimed at grecizing the

¹ This is evident from the number of Cives Romani.

² In no case is the full Roman name, with filiation in the Roman style, given.

country. It continued the attempt which was made by successive Greek kings, Seleucid and Pergamenian, to hellenize Anatolia (J.H.S. 1918, p. 144). Augustus in founding his Latin colonies had apparently some thought of latinizing Anatolia. Evidently Claudius abandoned this, for the names *Claudiopolis*, *Claudioseleuceia*, *Claudiconium*, etc. imply the grecized *polis* system. Even *Tiberiopolis-Pappa* and *Tiberiopolis* of Phrygia are named on the hellenizing system, implying that Tiberius abandoned the colonial and latinizing method. When Hadrian made *Iconium* a colony, he had evidently no intention of latinizing it, and he did not introduce any latin-speaking *coloni*. The same was almost certainly the case with *Colonia Claudiopoli Juliosebaste Ninika* (*Ninika*, renamed *Claudiopolis* in honour of the Emperor Claudius, made a colony by Domitian and named after *Julia Augusta* in a Greek form).¹

The names which the Galatai in assembly dedicated are in many respects the most interesting and valuable part of the record. The hierourgoi dedicate the stele and their names. By consecrating their names the delegates in assembly consecrate to the Emperor themselves, their own services and the services of the states or tribes or cities which they represent.

The long lists of Killanian and Tekmoreian members of those associations are similar, and should be compared. The Tekmoreian guest-friends are presented as contributors to the cost of dedication of ritual objects, statues, etc.: at *Ancyra* in this inscription the cost is defrayed by one member, evidently an eminent and rich delegate; but the total expense cannot have been great.

It is not possible here to study the names properly, because it would be necessary to see the stone or a good impression, but several inferences can be drawn from Domaszewski's copy.

9. Many names betray the South Galatian Hellenistic character, none show the Pisidian type (except hellenized), a few are Gallic in origin. Some can be assigned to definite cities, by conjecture more or less probable.

(1.) The rare name *Caristanius*, A.35, is peculiar to Pisidian Antioch. It occurs there as the *nomen* of a great and noble family throughout the first century, which apparently disappeared (see Cheesman in J.R.S. iii, p. 266). There is every probability that "Sabinus, son of Caristanius," was a Roman citizen of this Antiochian family, that his legal Roman name was [C ?] *Caristanius C. F. C. N. Sabinus*, and that he is the latest representative of the family mentioned in the records at present known.²

¹ *Revue Numism.* 1894, p. 164 ff. I cannot accept the criticism and divergent opinion of Kubitschek. *Ninika* was named *Claudiopolis* by Antiochus IV, and re-founded as a colony by Domitian.

² The probable formula *Σαβείνος Καρίστρανίου*

τῆς Γαλῶν (restored by conjecture) recalls the name *Γάιος Καρίστράνιος Φρόντων γ'* restored by Cheesman in an inscription of Antioch, J.R.S. iii, p. 262. They are equally bad renderings of the Latin form *C. Caristanius C. F. C. N.*

(2.) As Ebourenos is not known except in Iconium, Ebourianos, too, is probably Lycaono-Pisidian, as is Oseias (assured in the squeeze). Capito, son of Capito, occurs at Lystra *c.* 100, but the name is common.

(3.) At Apollonia several fragments of the dedication of a building of the late first or early second century mention the name of [Niko]chares (Sterrett, *W.E.* 543, 544, who restores [Theo]chares). Apolloni(des), son of Nikoch(ares), came to represent Apollonia at the meeting of the Koinon in 101. The name Apollonides is, of course, common; but it frequently occurred in what was evidently one of the leading noble families of Apollonia during the first century.

(4.) Anthestios, found at Korna of Lycaonia, is a rare Anatolian name (l. 17), sometimes used as equivalent to the Latin Antistius.

It is impossible to suppose that these 92 representatives were needed or called to the meeting to represent only the three Galatian tribes. The Koinon represented the entire province as Augustus organized and constituted it.¹ The Koinon of the Galatians was intended to be the means of holding together in religious ritual at common meetings all parts of the province as it then existed; but parts which were subsequently added to the province (e.g. Pontus, etc.) were not included in the original assembly called the Koinon, and probably had their own Koina. The attempt to unify the unwieldy province was abandoned, in part by Vespasian, more definitely by Trajan or Hadrian. Naturally, inasmuch as the meetings were held generally (perhaps always) at Ancyra, the metropolis of the province, the number of Gallic representatives is considerable; but among 92 names undoubtedly one would find a larger proportion of names which can be identified as of Gaulish origin, if this assembly represented only the three tribes.²

Now in the peroration, What are the *γραφαί*? Who are the *ἑπουργοί*? In the exordium the dedication of the stele and the names is made by the whole Assembly. In the peroration the expense of the inscribed stele is borne by one of the delegates, Tib. Claudius Stratonikus (l. 20), who also places on the inscribed basis a statue of the Emperor. Certain *ἑρά* were performed by the Assembly of the Koinon, and the *ἑπουργοί* must be the whole of those who performed the sacred rites, i.e. the Assembly of the Koinon of the Galatians; and we may infer from the decree of the Dionysiac Artists, *I.G.R.R.* iii, 209, that the rites were mystic, i.e. religious according to a cult confined to the Artists in Assembly.³ Practically any approximation to religious feeling in the pagan world of the Empire took the form of Mysteria, and an alliance was gradually formed between the Emperors and the revived paganism. The alliance culminated under Diocletian and Maximin II, but signs of it

¹ Parts of Pamphylia and Pisidia, incorporated in the province Lycia-Pamphylia, A.D. 74, ceased then to belong to the Koinon of Galatia.

² Galatian names are ΒΟΙΟΠΙΤΟC (Dom. has ΒΟΙΘΗΤΟC); and a genitive is needed).

already under Pius are known; here it is seen as early as Trajan.¹ Already under Augustus the tendency to regard the reigning Emperor as the incarnation on earth of the great god in each district and at each hieratic centre was marked; and this identification implied religious mystic rites (in which probably the relation of the two aspects of the god was revealed to the eyes of the initiated).

The *γραφαί* which were presented to the *ἱερουργοί* must be writings containing the acts and words needed in the ritual. A copy of these was drawn up in the elaborated form which we suppose to have been given to the 'Mystêrion'² during the reorganization carried out under Trajan and Pomponius Bassus. It is now well known (if it ever was doubted or denied) that the pagan mysteries generally were trying to revivify themselves by elaboration, in each case adding to the old local cult elements derived from the *Mysteria* of other regions. Thus was produced a growing similarity among them all.

It would be false to say that the power which belongs to 'a religion of the Book' was realized so early by the Emperors. The *γραφαί* of the Christians were recognized as a source of permanence and strength to them. The Moslems lay great stress on 'the Book' as the basis and formative influence in a religion. 'The Book' is above the ritual. But these writings are merely a statement of the ritual. That goes back to old Hittite times: Professor Sayce tells me that many of the records, now in course of publication at Berlin, are ritualistic.³

The *ἱερουργοί* are the whole body of delegates who meet and engage in the religious ritual. They come as worshippers. Just as the Koinon as a whole was styled the priest of Augustus and Rome in *C.I.G.* 4039, so the Koinon as a whole performs the ritual, led by the *ἀρχιερεὺς* (of the province), *σεβαστοφάντισσα* and *ἱεροφάντης*.

The reference to the Sebastophantissa is interesting. Mentioned in this prominent way she must have taken part in the *ἱερά* and was therefore a member or official of the Koinon. This implies that she represents the Empress in the ritual, while the president takes the part of the Emperor.

When rightly restored, Domaszewski's important decree proves that

1. The Koinon of Galatia⁴ was a provincial Assembly, not an assembly of the three tribes. This merely needs stating to be accepted by all except those scholars who judge from a preconceived theory of the meaning of the terms 'Galatia' and 'Galatians' in the Epistle of Paul. It was the purpose of the Koinon to unify the Roman

¹ See a paper in *Aberystwyth Studies*, vol. iv, p. 1.

² Singular number, as in *I.G.R.R.* 209 *ad fin.*

³ See p. 177 f.

⁴ It is called on the coins indifferently KOINON-TAAATIAΣ and KOINON-TAAATΩN, showing

that the term 'Galatai' was understood naturally and popularly as the people of Galatia, which is exactly what was to be expected. It seems needless to insist on this elementary principle of Augustan provincial policy.

province. Such was the policy of Augustus, and he carried out his invariable policy in organizing Galatia, 25 B.C.

2. It was a religious Assembly of *ἱερούργοι* performing mystic (i.e. religious) rites in honour of the Emperor and of the native ritual with which the Emperor was associated as the incarnate god. There was a Sebastophantissa in the Assembly, whose duty was, in conjunction with the Sebastophantes, her husband, to display the mystic imperial ceremonial to the *ἱερούργοι*; the Empress was included in the religious rites performed before the members of the *Koinon*, i.e. the *ἱερούργοι*.

3. It was a means of unifying Galatia by hellenizing the province, and de-gallicizing the three tribes. Probably the *Koinon* was organized as a widening of the Gallic tribes, so that the Gallic element in each might be swamped by the hellenized element of the south. As might be expected, the wealthy leading Gauls were far more easily hellenized than the peasantry, who (as Anderson has shown in *J.R.S.* 1910, p. 164) clung to the old Celtic Gallic gods after 200 A.D. The great Gaulish families held half of the priesthoods in the Pessinnuntine religion long before Christ, and they joined freely in the imperial cult. (See p. 150).

4. The allusion to *Γραφαί*,¹ i.e. a written copy of the ritual, is highly significant, and quite unexpected. The religio-mystic side of these Associations was emphasized by Domitian and Hadrian, but dates back to the imperialistic policy of Augustus. So much was known; but I confess that I had not thought of a written ritual. Yet writings were necessary, if there was an imperial ritual; and the introduction of certain forms, acts and words (*δρώμενα καὶ λεγόμενα*) was intended, as must be assumed, for without such religious forms the imperial religion could have had no existence; now we know that this imperial religion was 'the keystone of the imperial policy.'² To make the same ritualistic acts and words universal in all the provinces, and so by common religion to weld all the provinces into the one united Empire, was the idea of Augustus; for this he required some kind of written instructions. These ritualistic instructions constituted an elaborate mystic ceremonial, called *μυστήριον*. It is important that Trajan, greatest and most patriotic of the Emperors, insisted on this imperial religion. He was therefore inevitably one of the persecutors.

H. ORIGIN OF THE KOINON.—It is generally accepted that the organized worship of the Emperor was an eastern institution, introduced into the western provinces as a political device, but unknown and exotic in the west. It was introduced into the *Tres Galliae* in

¹ It is impossible to take *γραφαί* as the recording of the names on the stele; that record is summed up in *τὴν στήλην καὶ τὸν τίτλον*: something different is added in *σὺν ταῖς γραφαῖς*.

² This phrase has been quoted from my *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 324, by Mommsen; and may be assumed as a starting point of all reasoning on the subject.

12 B.C. as part of the imperial machinery, non-Gaulish in spirit and hostile to the religion of the tribes. Augustus fixed the annual ceremony of the imperial religion, celebrated at Lyon (Lugdunum) by representatives of the whole country, on one of the great festivals of the Gaulish religion, obviously with the intention of substituting the imperial cult for the native on this great day. Claudius found it necessary to take a further step, and proscribed the Druidic worship as dangerous to the imperial system. The innate hostility of Druidism and Gallicism to the imperial ritual was part of the age-long enmity of Europe to an institution which was really Asiatic.

In the east the origin must be sought in one of the provinces, either Egypt or Syria or some of the Anatolian provinces. Egypt is out of the question. The native idea in that country took the form that the reigning sovereign was son of the god or goddess, whereas the imperial cult agreed with the custom of Syria and Anatolia in regarding the Emperor (or the king in earlier time) as identical with and a manifestation of the god himself. Further, there can be practically no doubt, as historical relations show, that Anatolia furnished the model to Augustus, not Syria; though the old form in both countries was much the same, due to the similarity of religious idea. The institution in a certain form goes back to republican days and the early second century. Smyrna founded the first temple of Rome, where the power and majesty of the great State was adored. Augustus tried to maintain the republican aspect as a union of Rome and Augustus, the divine State and its human embodiment. The Augustan temple at Ancyra was dedicated to Rome and Augustus; but whatever attempt was made to conserve that older usage, the Koinon both in Asia and in Galatia seems to have recognized the Augustan divinity as standing alone.

It can hardly be doubted that one or other of those two Koina furnished the origin and model for the whole Roman world. Bithynia had recognized at Nicaea the divinity of Julius Caesar and the ἱππος βροτόπους, and this cult was not likely to be interfered with so quickly by a new foundation of Augustus; but after the example of provincial κοινά was set, a Κοινὸν Βιθυνίας was instituted. The theory is forced on us that the Galatic Koinon dates from the beginning of the province in 25 B.C. and that it was the first provincial foundation of the kind.

This Koinon was probably, like so many of Augustus' institutions, a remodelled form of an existing organization; and Professor Sayce suggests with much probability that the original goes back to Hittite times and the Hittite Empire. In respect of the royal worship, he quotes one of the frequent Hittite ritual prescriptions (*Keilschriften aus Boghazkeui*, 1921, Heft ii, p. 50, ll. 17-19): 'after this the harper celebrates reverentially the name of the king; the man of the face

with protruding tongue¹ prophesies ; the sacrificers sacrifice.' Then follows the prophecy in Proto-Hittite, a language not yet deciphered.

That there was some kind of a Council in the Hittite Empire is shown by the following passage from the Hittite Laws : ' Formerly the Northern hosts, the Salâ soldiers, the Tibareni soldiers, the Khatra soldiers, the Zalpa soldiers, the Khimmua soldiers, the Tashkeniya soldiers, the archers, the artisans, the tektones and the Aborigines, paid tribute ; they did not form part of the community (or totality) : they held no property.

' When the Hittite feudal-service men came, they flocked to the royal father and said : ' no one receives pay,' and it was said to us, "feudal retainers are you ; the assembly of the royal father in the morning you constitute ; later on you leave it."

' Then they marched to garrison the royal road ; the vineyard they planted ; none of the metal-workers was a noble ; but those who were landed proprietors paid rent , they formed the community.'

This important passage, though full of unsolved problems, establishes certain facts about the Hittite constitution.

1. The Royal Father is the divine sovereign, (the *πατήρ καὶ θεός* of the Roman Empire).

2. The Assembly of the Royal Father is some sort of Council of the Hittite nobility, forming the model out of which grew the Roman imperial *Κοινὸν Γαλατῶν*.

3. There was an aristocracy of privilege, viz. the Hittites as a conquering caste, from which *formerly* all the northern warriors, etc. were excluded : only the aristocracy could own (landed ?) property, which they were expected to plant and turn to use.² This division of the population into privileged property-owners, and unprivileged soldiers, etc. recalls the system restored in Tarsus by Athenodorus, the friend and adviser of Augustus. He, as Strabo says, put down the unbridled democracy, and revived the old Anatolian constitution, viz. a small privileged aristocracy of the citizens, and a large unprivileged class called *Linourgoi*. The bearing of this on the station of St. Paul as a ' citizen ' is pointed out in my *Cities of St. Paul*, pt. i. The Hittite term *karbis*,³ which Professor Sayce renders ' community,' corresponds exactly (as he recognizes) to the ' citizens ' of Tarsus. Dion Chrysostom, in his orations to the Tarsians, lays much stress on their admirable conservative constitution, which disqualified the general mass of dwellers and workers. He preserves the name

¹ The face with protruding tongue, as Professor Sayce tells me, is often mentioned in the Hittite documents as the source of prophecy. A representation of this head with open mouth and protruding tongue was found at Emir Ghazi (Khasbia, Hittite Khasimiya) and purchased by Lady Ramsay and myself in 1911. I wrongly took it as a lion's head ; but it is human. Professor Sayce, to whom we showed it, recognized its character as early Anatolian.

² I take the vineyard in paragraph 3 as indicating one outstanding kind of planting, used by synecdoche for agriculture and horticulture generally.

³ *Karbis* = total, *karbessar* = totality, *karbi-yanwar* = to form a totality or community. *Karbis* = *πολίτευμα*, (a word confined to Southern Asia Minor and St. Paul, means in Lycian Greek inscriptions, the ' State,' or body of *πολίται* : St. Paul uses it = behaviour as a citizen).

of the latter, Linourgoi, which Strabo does not mention ; perhaps it was a cant-name, but it was an Anatolian idea, seen in the Hittite 'artisans.'

It would be impossible to suppose that any such privileged Council or Assembly survived in the strongly hellenized province of Asia ; but it is known that such a Council existed in the kingdom of Galatia, as Strabo mentions ; it met regularly at Drynemeton.¹ Augustus adapted this to his new province Galatia in the form which has been described in the preceding sections, and afterwards to his new province Tres Galliae, as well as Asia, and so all the other provinces successively. In the Galatic province he could not accept unchanged the existing Assembly of the three tribes, for the tribal system and idea was hostile to Roman imperial principles ; but he did not attempt to destroy this Assembly ; he widened it to the measure of the entire province ; the old tribal Assembly became the provincial Koinon, and the three tribes were induced to acquiesce in the Roman fashion.² Similarly, in the Tres Galliae, the old religious festival of the Gauls was transformed into the annual meeting of the entire province in the worship of Augustus ; but there is no reason to think that every tribe in the province had previously taken part in that festival, or professed Druidism. In Aquitania on the one hand, in Belgica on the other, there were tribes of non-Celtic blood and race.

In both provinces, eastern and western, the same device was practised : an Assembly or festival of narrower range was widened into a provincial meeting to practise the new imperial cult and thus become united in a common rite and a common loyalty.

An imperial Assembly or Koinon which accepted and stereotyped the old tribes and the old Druidism, so hostile to the imperial system, was impossible, absurd, and self-contradictory. The Empire could not accept or recognize what was anti-Roman and anti-imperial. The Koinon or Commune was as wide as the province, or it had no reason for existence. The Κοινὸν Γαλατῶν or τῆς Γαλατίας was a provincial assembly, a 'totality' in the Hittite phrase. No doubt could ever have been entertained on this point, had it not come into relation with a Pauline letter and affected the interpretation of that letter. A noble band of heroes, with Schürer as protagonist, were bent on proving that Paul, a Roman, could not possibly address the Christians of a group of cities in Phrygia and Lycaonia as Galatae.

If this paper is correct, this important and world-wide device, the province united in and by the Commune, has been connected

¹ This Council consisted, obviously, of the Gaulish conquerors, while the conquered old population was excluded.

² There is much probability (as the present writer has often shown) that the widening of the tribal Assembly was accomplished by a legal fiction, that favourite Roman device ; the southern non-Gallic and hellenized cities of Galatic Phrygia and Galatic

Lycaonia were taken into one (or all) of the tribes. Apollonia of Phrygia called its people Trocmi ; Antioch, the Phrygian city 'towards Pisidia,' was a 'sister' of Tavium, the chief city of the Trocmi ; Pednelissos on the extreme southern frontier of Pisidia near the low ground of Pamphylia regarded itself as a 'city of the Galatai,' as did Apollonia.

with an age-long principle, working in the relations between East and West across the intermediate land of Asia Minor, caught up and adapted to his own purpose, i.e. the consolidation of the Empire, by the creative intellect of Augustus. The creative power of that great Emperor was shown, not in striking out new devices (which would have assuredly failed), but in the adaptation of tried plans to the special circumstances of the time. That the plans failed ultimately was due to the discouragement of self-reliance and initiative, to the want of intelligent education, and above all to a false and overburdensome taxation, which killed the Middle Class, ruined the city-system, the basis of the Empire, and was the root of the other factors.

H. ELECTION OR APPOINTMENT TO THE KOINON.—How was the Koinon recruited? On this subject the inscriptions are silent; or rather, our knowledge is too defective to read easily the answer implied in them. It is, however, fairly clear that the list of members in A.D. 101 is a list of eminent citizens, the leading men of provincial society. The proportion of *cives* is evidently large, although many of them disguise their Roman names under a Greek form; and at that date *cives* were still, on the whole, a local aristocracy (which had been the aim of Augustan policy). This is inconsistent with popular election. Hellenized cities gave too free rein to popular caprice, and Greek buffoons were often the idols of the mob (as at Tarsus and Tarentum) and in a crisis caused much evil. The Koinon was apparently kept free from such members, and that result could be attained only by nomination or co-optation. Nomination would inevitably come from the Emperor, acting through his legatus, and this method would facilitate that intimate relation between Koinon and provincial governor which evidently reigned (see p. 169). Moreover, the whole policy of Augustus rested on an aristocratic principle. He distrusted and discouraged popular voting and the choice of the mob. The story of Athenodorus and his remodelling of the Tarsian constitution is characteristic of the Augustan policy in Anatolia generally. Athenodorus was expressing the will of Augustus, and rested on the power given by imperial approval. It is indeed true that the influence and teaching given by the Tarsian philosopher to his imperial pupil and friend was not without effect in moulding the policy of Augustus. Teacher and pupil agreed heartily.

This distrust of popular voting may appear inconsistent with the hellenizing policy of the Emperors from Augustus onwards in Anatolia. Such an objection, however, misses the essential facts. Hellenization was an instrument in the hands of the Emperors, not an end in itself. The instrument was not perfect, and the guiding policy used it and guarded against its misuse; but the old Anatolian system rested on the aristocratic principle, and Anatolian history in all ages is the history of the influence of great territorial families, living among their own people and usually (where we can trace any details) in kindly relations

with their dependants. This system is essentially as different from unbridled despotism as it is from unrestrained democracy, and it can be studied better in Anatolia than in any other country.

NOTE.—Certain principles as to the use of Roman names in establishing a date suggest themselves here.

1. In Galatia a Roman *nomen* unmistakably senatorial, used by a Galatic provincial *civis*, suggests that the name was derived from a governor of Galatia, under whose administration the head of the provincial family was honoured with the *civitas*. If the name is found widely in north and south Galatia, the evidence that a governor bearing the name ruled over Galatia becomes all the stronger.

2. If the *nomen*, on the other hand, suits equestrian rank, then there remains the probability that it came into the province through a procurator of Galatia, or some military officer.

3. Galatians who had served as soldiers might very well take their Roman name from the officer under whom they had served.

4. The most clear and assured case is when the new *civis*, apparently of good civilian family, takes the *praenomen* and *nomen* of an Emperor, with the *cognomen* of a provincial governor. In such case it may be assumed that the *civitas* was granted during the administration of the governor in question; e.g. the first M. Ulpius Pomponius at Iconium took his name and gained the *civitas* under Trajan and Pomponius Bassus, A.D. 98–101. Many such cases occur.

5. A *cognomen* alone gives less evidence. Tiberius Claudius Scapula in *I.G.R.R.* iii, 162 belongs to an old romanized family, and the *cognomen* Scapula affords poor evidence that the family took it from C. Julius Scapula, who governed Galatia under Hadrian: a family, Roman for a century before that time, might gather *cognomina* from many sources. On the other hand, such a name as P. Aelius Scapula¹ would fix the date of the *civitas* by Emperor and governor together, P. Aelius Hadrianus and C. Julius Scapula.

IV. GRAECO-ASIATIC LAW IN PHRYGIA GALATICA.

This inscription is built into the wall of the upper mosque at Olu-Borlu, but is placed too high to be read without mechanical aid and yet too near to be read with a glass. I have seen it several times from 1882 onwards at a distance, but not copied it. Sterrett in 1884 read it with some danger, but only imperfectly (part in *W.E.* no. 539). Anderson read it in 1897, and published it more fully in *J.H.S.* 1898, p. 98 f, yet still not completely. Recently we have discussed it, and he asks me to print the results of our joint work (much of which is his). The inscription is one of the very few that illustrate the dark pre-Roman period of the history of this frontier region of Phrygia (called Phrygia-towards-Pisidia, or Pisidian Phrygia, or in Roman time

¹ No example is known, but one may be discovered.

Phrygia Galatica). Ultimately in Roman time the simpler name Pisidia gradually came to be attached to it, in defiance of racial affinity, but in accordance with administrative classification (as was the Roman habit, see Strabo's frequent comment; e.g. pp. 665, 671, 840, etc.).

[Κότυς ἡγήρασα]
[τὴν ἄρουραν, καὶ]
[ἐπὶ αὐτῇ τὸ μνη]-
μεῖον] ἐπεσκε-
ύασα ἐν τῷ β' καὶ μ'
καὶ ρ' ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ καὶ
4 αὐτὸ ἐξεδόμην
διὰ τῶν δημοσί-
ων γραμμάτων. πρ-
οσώρισα καὶ αὐτὴν
8 ὅλην τῷ μνημεί-

ω ἀνεξαλλοτρί-
ωτον αἰεὶ ἀναθή-
σομαι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐξ
12 αὐτῆς προσόδου
εἷς τε ἀνάληψιν τοῦ
μνημείου καὶ εὐω-
χίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει
16 Θρακῶν ὧν ἂν εἴη
δικαίως. διὰ τῶν
δημοσίων ἀνέγρα-
ψα ἐν τῷ γ' καὶ μ' καὶ
ρ' ἔτει

The date is important in the history of Anatolian society (as will appear in the sequel). The law of the grave here is expressed, not after the Roman style, but after the Graeco-Asiatic legal style which was highly elaborated in the Seleucid lands. The character of this law has been expounded by Mitteis in *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*.

It is shown in my *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, pp. 338, 351, 370, that this is the system of law which was known to St. Paul, and that his legal terms and illustrations are taken from it, and not from pure Roman law. Mitteis has shown that the imperial policy confirmed this Graeco-Asiatic law in the Eastern provinces. The Roman method was to leave undisturbed so far as possible an established law and civilized organization; but of course law progressed and the new law which was added was the growing body of imperial law. Yet commentators continue to speak of the Roman law in St. Paul's epistles, and treat and comment on this supposed body of Roman principles as governing Paul's expression and thought in his letters to a Helleno-Asiatic or a Greek people, as if those readers could catch allusions to a legal procedure and terminology which were totally unknown and alien to them.¹

The inscription is early. The date is ρμγ' = 47 B.C. The formula with interposed καὶ is rare. The era is 189 B.C. when the Romans conferred freedom on this region. The same era was used at Ariassos (as was shown in an article *Micrasiana*, B3, *l'Ere d'Ariassos*, published in *Revue des ét. Gr.* 1893, p. 251); and it was employed at Apollonia even after the Roman province was organized in 25 B.C.; see the

¹ It can only be through ignorance of the progress of the study of Roman imperial law that commentators on St. Paul continue to expound him as

referring to purely Roman law, as if it were the law administered in the eastern provinces.

metrical dedication of Sagaris (*L.W.* 1192)¹ As to the dedication of Sagaris of Apollonia I began to hesitate about this date (stated confidently in *Studia Biblica* iv, p. 54), after seeing the stone; but I now venture to class it among a group of inscriptions showing a very markedly square style of letters, of which I have since observed examples at Iconium and at Antioch Pisid.; they belong in every other case to the period A.D. 50–90.² Accordingly the dedication of Sagaris, dated A.D. 57, referring to a devastating famine, which had afflicted the whole world (κόσμον πάντα) some years previously, may still be quoted in confirmation of ‘the famine over the whole world’ prophesied by Agabus³ during the reign of Claudius (Acts xi, 27).

It would, indeed, be possible to suppose that a provincial era 25 B.C. was employed in Apollonia, but not the Lydo-Phrygian era 85–84 B.C.; the circumstances however show that 190–189 B.C. was the era. Apollonia undoubtedly belonged to the Galatic province from its first formation, having been part of the realm of Amyntas, to whom Antony granted it along with Pisidian Antioch (as Strabo xii, p. 577 shows); but the lettering of the inscriptions does not suit the provincial era. The present inscription shows a quite early form of letters, and the dedication of Sagaris is likely to be of the first century. The Lydo-Phrygian era cannot reasonably be extended to Apollonia; it is found in eastern Lydia and western Phrygia, and marks the date when Phrygia Magna was incorporated definitely in the province Asia; but there is no authority for assigning Apollonia to the province Asia. It appears to have been granted freedom (like Antioch) in 189 B.C. and it clung to the era of freedom rather than the Galatic provincial era as a mark of dignity (see p. 185, middle).

¹ *Studia Biblica*, iv, p. 53 f. Sagaris was caught by the famine in Asia, and succeeded in bringing his cattle into Galatia Province; at his home Apollonia he dedicated as a thankoffering two oxen carved in Dokimian marble a few years after the escape from the Asian famine; dedications were not always erected the day or month after the god had earned them: the pietv was sometimes later than the occasion, when a call was made by the god, and the language of the dedication clearly suggests that some interval of prosperity elapsed. This dedication was much misunderstood by Waddington and others; Sagaris is not a Galatian name (as they assume), but old Anatolian, and is found widely. The dedicator Sagaris made his monument in his own *patris*, Apollonia, when he returned from travel during the great famine under Claudius: apparently he was on business on this journey. Professor Sayce points out that the word Sagaris is old Anatolian: it meant a cutting instrument with a single edge, a ploughshare or an axe with one edge, or an oriental curved sword (see Hesychius, and Xenophon heard the word among the Mossynoeci in the remote north-east on the outer side of the Anatolian land). Hence the river Sangarios (with

nasalization, as common in Anatolia, and a Greek ending) derived its name: it is the ‘cutter,’ which cleaves its way through a cañon beginning some hours below Alikel. There is, of course, a deeper and longer cañon in the mountain-rim of the plateau; but the one below Alikel near the head, Sakaria-Suyunun-Bashi, is more likely to suggest that the river cuts through the rock. The personal name Sagaris has nothing to do with Galatia as a Gaulish country, but only with the Anatolian land and language.

² See *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 170 f. and *J.R.S.* 1913, p. 262, and *Bearing of Recent Research* p. 154 for other examples of this square lettering.

³ Luke speaks only of τὴν οἰκουμένην, the organized world of the Roman Empire; the ‘poet’ Sagaris in this metrical inscription makes the famine extend to the whole inhabited world. Probably the famine afflicted different parts of the world in different years. That many parts of the entire Empire suffered from famine under Claudius is attested by numerous authorities, Tac., Suet., Euseb. *Chron.* etc., as well as by this contemporary document on the Apollonian stone.

The pronouns αὐτό and αὐτή refer respectively to the μνημεῖον and to some feminine noun (probably ἄρουρα), which must be restored in the lost exordium. The owner of the grave-property, viz. ground and built monument (Roman *area et superficies*), bought the land in 53 B.C. and gave out a contract for the building of the tomb (evidently an imposing structure) in the same year. The free land round the grave (ἄρουρα) was to be let as a garden and the revenue thus accruing was to be used for repairing the *mnemeion* and for giving a feast (doubtless annual on the birthday or death-day of the owner,¹ who was still living in 43 B.C.) to the Thracians in the city, to whom belongs the right according to law. Full regulations for the property were deposited in the archives (δημόσια γράμματα, called also ἀρχεῖον, γραμματοφυλάκιον, etc.: on this see *C. B. Phr.* ii, p. 368 f.). It is unusual that a building-contract should be passed through the archives, but evidently the structure was large enough to warrant extraordinary care, and the building-contract would constitute corroborative evidence of ownership. The Thracians are descendants of a body of settlers, introduced by Seleucus Nikator, founder of the city: at a subsequent time Lycians were brought in (by the Pergamenian kings?)² to counterbalance the power of the Seleucid settlers. The Thracians become the guardians of the property, and their care is ensured by the annual feast which is promised them. Garden-land round a grave (κηποτάφιον) was often used for flowers (especially roses, *C. B. Phr.* ii, p. 562 and commentary there) and vegetables (λάχανα, *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 179 f.). Such use is forbidden in the διαθήκη engraved on an Iconian tomb (*J.H.S.* 1918, p. 188 f.): here the letting of the property is intended and provided for.

Further it may be inferred, probably or certainly, that the feasting was arranged according to locality. Even trade-guilds and sometimes Christians were grouped locally (see *C. B. Phr.* ii, p. 563). The Thracians were not scattered through the city, but lived near this grave (which was outside *their* gate, *C. B. Phr. ibid.*); and they could thus observe the keeping of the grave and the cultivation of the garden, and also take part in the feast without going too far from home. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vii, iv, 1, 73 speaks of feasting by locality τρέπεται τὰ πλήθη πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ γένη καὶ γειτονίας ποιοῦμενοι τὰς ἐστιάσεις.

With this inscription compare the Apolloniate decree (*J.H.S.* 1918, p. 141) in honour of the first Roman governor of the province, which is about 25 or 26 years later. The arrangement in a high stele with short lines (letters from 12 to 14 each line) and the term or idea προσώρισα³ are common to both. They throw light on a

¹ Had the day of celebration been the birthday, it would have been mentioned in this document, a legal διαθήκη, of which a copy on paper was kept in the ἀρχεῖα. As the death-day was still unknown it could not be specified at the time of registration.

² See Anderson in *J.H.S.* 1898, pp. 96 f. The Thracian (Tralleis) were Seleucid (see at the end of this section).

³ The idea is certain, and the word is restored by Anderson.

Greek city of Phrygia Galatia just before and after it was included in a Roman province. The Thracians of Apollonia brought with them the name Sozopolis, the alternative name of Apollonia in Thrace. Here in Phrygia the Thracian name must have persisted in common usage in the neighbourhood till the Byzantine period, when the title Apollonia disappeared entirely and Sozopolis became universal. The site of the Byzantine Sozopolis is certain. The town in the plain was indefensible. The two parts of the city, Lycian and Thracian, were separate. The Thracians formed a garrison on the high rock of Olu-Borlu; peaceful traders occupied the trading quarter in the plain about a mile north on a rising ground called Olukman (Sterrett); and perhaps a detachment of Lycians moved east to Lykiokome, mentioned in the Tekmoreian inscriptions, and situated near the Debatable Land, which was taken from Tymbrias and assigned to Apollonia by the Romans.¹

As Anderson has observed, the use of *κολωνῶν* in Greek on coins and in inscriptions in the formula *Ἀπολλωνιατῶν Λυκίων καὶ Θρακῶν κολωνῶν* is strange and unusual, and the choice of this word was inspired by municipal jealousy and rivalry. The great Roman Colony Antioch (Colonia Caesarea) was the capital and military centre; but Apollonia, the centre of the Greek custom which the Roman policy encouraged (*J.H.S.* 1918, p. 143 f.), vied with it and boasted in Greek of its own *coloni*. Such town rivalry was very frequent. Competition in titles was the chief way in which it showed itself: Smyrna, Pergamos and Ephesos all called themselves 'First of Asia'; Philippi (colonia) competing with Amphipolis claimed to be *πρώτη τῆς μερίδος* (Acts. xvi, 13); cp. also Anazarbos and Tarsus, Nikomedea and Nicaea, etc.²

ἀναθήσομαι seems to be an example of the Phrygian love of the middle voice for the active (see Philologus, *N.F.I.* p. 754 f.).

It must be understood that the purchaser and testator of this sepulchral property was himself a Thracian, and hence the Thracians of Apollonia are the rightful inheritors of the right to profit by the bequest, and the testator could trust to their interest in the grave of one of their own body. We notice that there is no formal provision for safeguarding the tomb or maintaining the ritual. Neither on the one hand is divine protection and divine curse invoked, nor on the other hand is any money fine specified against a violator or injurer of the grave and the property. The old Anatolian custom called on the gods for protection, as in the Lycian and Lydian epitaphs: so also the Phrygian epitaphs of the Roman period, though composed in Greek, often add an appeal to the gods or a curse in the old Phrygian tongue, evidently in the belief that such appeals belonged to the old order of

¹ See *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 144 ff. Lykiokome may have been at Genj-Ali, on the lake where the road going eastwards first touches the lake (an ancient site with milestones, etc.).

² Mommsen in his great chapter on the provinces of Asia Minor described this quaint feature of Hellenistic municipal life. It is not an Anatolian characteristic.

things, and perhaps that they were more likely to be effective if expressed in the old language. G. Hirschfeld, if my memory is right, argued that the institution of a fine for violation of the tomb, payable to the city or the fiscus or (in Asia) the Roman treasury, or some other permanent body, able to take legal proceedings against a violator, belonged to the Roman period and showed the influence of Roman legal ideas. The Greek custom did not much favour any form of protection, which belongs to Anatolian custom; here trust for protection is lodged in the tribal feeling of the Thracians, and their interest in the annual feast.

That the Thracians were the Seleucid settlers also in Pisidian Antioch is practically certain, because an inscription of pre-Roman time has been found containing a list of citizens, all Thracians. There can be no doubt that the two cities were founded by Seleucus Nikator with the design of guarding the important Pisidic route from the west coast to Syria through the Cilician Gates, a route which was much employed under the Seleucid rule in Asia Minor and was almost necessary for its maintenance.¹ Accordingly I have restored a Thracian name at the commencement, in order to put the reader at the right point of view. The testator was evidently a person of wealth and standing among the Thracian settlers; the property was considerable, the monument was imposing, he could reckon on the Thracians as attached friends, and he considered that his grave was justly their care and almost their property.² He therefore was a sort of chief or leader. Kotus, the Thracian name, was the Anatolian katu king.

NOTE.—I add here a correction (or rather an improvement) in a suggestion of mine which Anderson incorporated in his article already quoted, p. 126, no. 89. The opening of this inscription should be read, not τὸν βορὸς εἰσπου | [δ]έων μακαρῶν, but εἰσπουδ | αέων, with ε for ι. Every letter is certain; d at the end of l. 1 is a late form of Δ. Perhaps the end is καὶ Μείνου.

NOTE BY H. STUART JONES.—The *κηποτάφια* mentioned on p. 184 are also known to us from papyri. *B.G.U.* 1120, a document of the year 5 B.C., contains a contract for the letting of three grave-gardens at a rent of 20 dr. a month together with certain deliveries of produce; it is evident that such market-gardens were a lucrative source of income. The restoration *κηπ[οτάφια]* in §1 of the *Γνώμων τοῦ Ἰδίου Λόγου*, proposed by the editors, is of course purely conjectural, though the regulation implied would be probable enough (see my *Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy*, p. 37). Of the other restorations suggested τὰ δὲ [γῆ]π[εδα τὰ περὶ] αὐτὰ (K. F. W. Schmidt, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1922, Sp. 147) seems the most probable.

¹ See *J.H.S.* 1920, p. 89 f.

² Θρακῶν ὧν ἂν εἴη (τὸ μνημεῖον) δικαίως.



Studies in the Roman Province Galatia. VI.--Some Inscriptions of Colonia Caesarea Antiochea

Author(s): William Mitchell Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 14 (1924), pp. 172-205

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

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STUDIES IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE GALATIA.¹

VI.—SOME INSCRIPTIONS OF COLONIA CAESAREA ANTIOCHEA.

By WILLIAM MITCHELL RAMSAY.

Sterrett mentioned long ago that there are twelve *mahale* (divisions) in the modern town of Yalowatch. Two of these are separate from the rest on the SW. I have often tried to get a list of the *mahale*; but no two persons agreed about them and, as the town has grown, the distinction seems to have been forgotten as inconsistent with modern 'progress.' Once I gathered a group of men, and instituted a regular 'third degree' questioning. There was general acquiescence in the number 12; it is a good number; but some maintained that some quarter of the town was a *mahale*, while others declared that it was not really a *mahale*. Probably the classification represents the persistence and gradual disappearance of a former condition. Yalowatch was in the fourteenth century one of the six great cities of Hamid (*H.G.A.M.* p. 390).

Antiocheia, renamed *Καισάρεια* by king Amyntas 40 B.C. and refounded as a Roman *colonia* 25 B.C. by Augustus as Colonia Caesarea,² had been from about 290 B.C. the frontier garrison city of the peaceable fertile Phrygian country against the mountaineers of Taurus and, together with Apollonia, constituted the chief defence of the main Seleucid road to the west from Syria, Cilicia and the Gates.³ The name Antiocheia did not easily give way to Caesarea (*Καισάρεια*). The individuality of the city was connected with its original name; and this name remained in use among the *incolae* of the Latin Colonia, who were certainly the large majority of the population. The *incolae* retained the Greek language; and the rich land maintained both the *coloni* and the *incolae* in prosperity and comfort. Gradually the *incolae* were admitted to the Roman *civitas* and thus became *coloni*. They had experience of the country, and often they acquired influence through their growing wealth in time of peace. The *coloni* (veterans of *leg. V Gallica* and probably also a smaller number of *leg. VII*)⁴ acted as guards against the attacks from the mountaineers, chiefly the Homanadenses, who had

¹ See *J.R.S.* xii, 147-186.

² In answer to queries it is here mentioned that Antiocheia is the Greek form of the name, while Antiochea is always used in Latin inscriptions.

³ On this road see *J.H.S.* 1920, 89 ff.

⁴ *J.R.S.* vi, p. 94. It is possible that there were miscellaneous veterans (besides those of *leg. V Gallica*), who are not known to us except two of *leg. VII*.

killed king Amyntas in 25 B.C. and who were at last broken in the great war, 11-7 B.C., when no male capable of bearing arms was left alive in their country. The *coloni*, who with their children formed a soldier caste and an aristocracy, were at first mainly occupied in war; while the *incolae* were more able and free to profit by the peace that reigned in the fertile plains; the *civitas*, as they gradually acquired it, conferred on them new dignity, and their wealth gave them power; but this process was necessarily slow. In the time of the Apostle Paul, A.D. 46-50, it is clear that the colonate aristocracy remained a real governing power, and from other sources it is proved to have been mainly Roman by origin. Paul addressed the *incolae* as Greek-speaking, and was only indirectly brought into relations with the Roman *coloni* through their wives, who were themselves perhaps often *incolae* and were much influenced by the Jewish inhabitants of Antioch. The religion of the city was a prime factor in its development, as in all Asian lands. The old Pisido-Phrygian Manes or Mannes, the Greek Mên, must necessarily be worshipped by the new-comers, because his power for good or for evil was still firm in his own country. Old customs, both social and religious (which cannot be separated in Asia), remained in use among the *coloni*, especially in burial (which was a main part of the old religion). In Antioch, Asia slowly swallowed Europe, as the *civitas* was widened among the *incolae*. In the first century all the *incolae* spoke Greek¹; and the *coloni*, mixing with them, had to pick up some Greek, while the enfranchised *incolae* retained Greek, acquiring also a little Latin. The official language long remained Latin, but the popular tongue was Greek: business and money-making dominated the situation. During the second century Greek became the ordinary tongue. A large number of the *incolae* were Jews, for the early Seleucid kings favoured the Hebrew race (along with Greeks from the west coast and even from European Greece and from Macedonia) as a power in spreading Graeco-Asiatic civilisation in the strange Phrygian land²; and the Jews preferred the use of Greek as the best language of business. A synagogue was a prominent feature of the city; but it was destroyed by the fanaticism of the fourth century A.D. and a Christian church built on its site. The Roman city was Colonia Caesarea, even Col. Caes. Ant., but in the third century the official name (as coins show) was Col. Antiochea, in Latin letters, often misspelled. Even as early as A.D. 90, the title is officially Col. Antioch. (without Caes.), in some cases, if not in all.

The coalition of the old paganism and the Imperial power against the rising power of Christianity even led to a rather exotic and pretended revival of the use of Latin, especially about A.D. 300. The

¹ Traces of the Phrygian language are most scanty, and none have been found in the native sanctuary above Antioch on the hill of Kara-Kuyu.

² See my *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 169 ff.

personal nomenclature was mainly Latin, for even *incolae* who attained the *civitas* and entered the colonial aristocracy had to take Roman names (often assumed either from Governors of Galatia or from the reigning Emperor of the time); and the names marked their aristocratic birth. Thus we find names like Caesennius, Gellius, Calpurnius, Pomponius, etc., prominent in the last anti-Christian struggles of the fourth century. The priestly families of the old time, who had ruled Antioch in the period 189 to 40 B.C., were put down by Augustus: i.e. they ceased to be a governing body, but they were not exterminated or even impoverished; and they gradually were admitted to the *civitas* and the local aristocracy.

It is a remarkable feature of the situation that the old families long survived. This was due partly to a physical cause, the healthy nature of the country and the total absence of malaria, partly to the simple, open-air life, and general good moral character (mentioned as characteristic of Phrygia). The old families survived because they deserved to survive, morally and intellectually. Moreover, they were not fanatical; they were even rather too disposed to change with the times and to profess the religion of the imperial government,¹ whatever it was.

Thus for centuries after the pacification of the Taurus and the building of roads in 6 B.C. Col. Caes. or Col. Caes. Antiochea continued to be a prosperous and wealthy city without any history except economic. From it, several families fought their way into the senatorial aristocracy. It was the *caput viarum* of the Taurus region. Trouble and 'history' began again, when about the time of Diocletian and Maximin, the cultivators of the vast imperial estates around the lakes, who were mainly pagans, made Antioch a centre of the pagan reaction.² In the fourth century the holy place of Mannes-Mên on the summit of the little ridge stretching SSE. from Antioch³ became a great sanctuary with many buildings, which have not yet been properly explored (though the Initiation-hall is described in *Annual B.S.A.* 1912, p. 37 f.); but these were wrecked violently by a Christian mob, probably about A.D. 400.⁴ The contents of the central sanctuary with the temple were smashed to small pieces, the gate was built up, and a howling wilderness alone remained, except that a Christian church and attached monastery were built about 200 yards to the north. One statue alone was left unhurt, standing within the sanctuary, a statue of about A.D. 200, made into a statue of Cornelia Antonia (who lived probably about 300).

After 400, Antioch had a peaceful existence, so far as is known,

¹ See *C.R.* 1919, p. 1 ff, 'A noble Christian Family of the fourth century.'

² See the important inscription found at Laodicea of Lycaonia by Calder, and published by him in *Klio*.

³ *J.R.S.* viii, 117 ff.

⁴ The date is determined by the coins, which cease then.

until A.D. 713; it was unusually well sheltered from the terrible Arab raids from 660 onwards. It had been the metropolis of the province Pisidia (which included Iconium and a large part of Lycaonia) until 372. Then Lycaonia was separated under metropolis Iconium, while Antioch continued to be the metropolis of Pisidia, which included also part of Asian Phrygia with the cities of Apameia and Metropolis. At last in 713 the blow fell. An Arab army crossed the Sultan Dagħ and captured Antioch, which was a remarkably strong fortress except in one respect. The water supply was apparently entirely dependent on an aqueduct. No trace has been yet found of storage-cisterns, or of any secret access to the river Anthios, which flows in a deep ravine, under the steep cliffs east of the city. So far as can be judged from known evidence, a besieger had only to cut the high aqueduct,¹ and the city must surrender within two days.

The Arabs carried away into captivity an immense number of the population. The survivors crept back into the city, which they found deserted and burnt. Where the fire had been most fierce the limestone, of which the principal buildings of the city had been built, was calcined into lime. Elsewhere, the limestone has been made much more brittle than is natural; and in falling it splintered into tiny fragments in a way in which limestone would never break from mere falling on a stone pavement. The suggestion was made by a good judge of stone that the smallness of the fragments was due to actual blows with a pick, intended to spoil the surface. This opinion is reasonable from the technical point of view; it would account for the facts; but it is not consistent with the general situation and with the analogy of any incident in that region known to the writer. On the other hand, the supposition that the damage was done by an earthquake seems inadmissible. No mere fall would account for the splintering into tiny fragments, and a fire consequent upon the earthquake would make the fall of the buildings previous to their becoming brittle. Moreover, the capture of the city and enslaving of the people by the Arabs is recorded by Theophanes (de Boor ed., i, p. 383); and it is practically certain that the Arabs would burn the city, partly from mere wantonness, partly to keep busy the surrounding people generally and safeguard their retreat with their prisoners and booty. Theophanes records the capture in terms which suggest that the fall of Antioch was regarded as an unusually calamitous event. Evidently the Arabs must have contented themselves for that occasion with this one great exploit. Encumbered as they were, they could only retire to Tarsus, and sell their prisoners into slavery, or hold some of the wealthy to ransom. Further advance was not possible for an army so burdened.

¹ The water conveyed by this aqueduct is remarkably pure and good. It is conveyed underground

for some miles; but near the city the conduit is on the top of arches.

In this number are printed a selection of inscriptions from South Galatia which have some special interest, chiefly economic, sometimes historical or social.¹ Most were found in 1914, when Lady Ramsay and I visited Antioch-towards-Pisidia, intending to take a last look at the place; but we remained longer. My wife, as we were wandering over the site, pointed to a steep slope facing the small temple of Mên, and declared that there must be steps there, leading down from the Augusta Platea to what was evidently a street. The street goes straight towards a ruined church, evidently of the fourth century. We hired a few men, and made a trial on the Scalae,² and immediately found many sculptures: Victories, a capricorn the symbol of Augustus, a captive Homanadensian, etc.—it was a monument of victory, not of mourning—also 49 fragments of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.

I. 1914. Plaque marked out by lines.



FIG. 24.

The inscription was probably dedicated to C. Julius Asper, when he attained the duumvirate. He fought his way up, and was perhaps the ancestor of the Aspri at Rome, 198–200. His *militia caligata* is omitted as usual. The road to success for these *coloni* was through the army. Mr. E. E. Peterson will have more to say about Asper in publishing a remarkable monument which he discovered in Antioch in 1924. He was one of the *duo viri* in the colonia.

The present inscription seems to belong to the middle of the

¹ They belong to Antioch unless a different origin is stated.

² I call these the Scalae Augustae, as a name is needed.

first century or earlier. One of the first *coloni* took the cognomen Pansinus to show that he had fought under the consul Pansa at Mutina. His son was Pansinianus. So the original Caristianus Fronto Caesianus Julius took Julius as a quasi-cognomen to show that he had served under Julius Caesar; but his descendants did not retain the name Julius.

2. 1914. Excavated in 1914, east from a street of Antioch running north and south: observed again in 1924 by E. E. Peterson. On an oblong stone, which might serve as an altar.

////CIS·AVGVST	Pa]cis·August(ae)
////SACRVM	Sacrum
C·PEPIVS·M·F·AED	C·Pepius· M·F· Aed(ilis)
DSP.	de sua pecunia.

This little altar of Augustan Peace may date back as early as the reign of Augustus, and prove that his Colony emulated in a small way the Ara Pacis Augustae at Rome. The writing is early.

3. 1925: mutilated: in very large letters: division marks not visible in dark cellar, mud-covered.

	praetori, sevirō equitum
rOMA//ORVMTVRMAEDVCENDAE	Curatori
vIARVMANNIAECLODIAECASSIAECIM	Miniae
ETTRIVMTRAIANARVMLEGATOLEG	Primae
MINERVIAEPIAEFIDELISPROCONSVLIP	Rovin
CIAEACHAIAELEGAVGPRPRPROVINC	Ciae bel
GICAE	finis

Much is lost at the beginning. The sevirate appears generally before the praetorship, here after the praetorship. The legatus of Belgica was praetorian, the curatorship of the great roads was sometimes praetorian, sometimes consular. The date is later than Domitian (leg. Minerv.) and Trajan; the person mentioned was probably of Antiochian nobility, who attained senatorial service.

4. 1914. Again excavated in 1924. The *titulus* is substituted for another which has been completely erased. The numbers mark the lines of the original inscription in nine lines.

1	//////////
2	//////////
	ΓΑΙΟΝΑΥΦΙΔΙΟΝ
4	ΜΑΝΙΟΥΥΙΟΝΒΑΛ
	ΒΟΝΑΥΦΙΔΙΑΗ
	ΜΗΤΗΡ
7	//////////
8	//////////ΔΙ///
9	////////

Apparently the father Aufidius must have married a relative, who bears the same *nomen*.

ΔΙ in l. 8 belongs to the erased inscription.

5. 1914. Built into a fountain, where the road from Gelendos to Egerdir begins to turn more southwards round Tekkelik-Dagh towards the entrance of Demir-Kapu, a wonderful pass on the road. The fountain is several miles from the east shore of lake Egerdir, and 400 yards from the road.

ALPVRNIIPAVL
F·SER·LONGOPON
VI·PRIMVSOMN

////////////////////
IMESSEP

VNVSPROMISIT
TRADVOSMEN

MPHITHEATRLIGNE
M·FECIT·VENATIONE

COTIDIE·OMNIS·GE
SETSPARSIONESDEDI

GLADIATORVMPARIA
XXVI·PER·DIES·OCTO

SVMMATOMV
P

[L. Calpurnio]

L. C]alpurnii Pau[l-
li] f. Ser(gia) Longo pon[t(ifici),
q]ui primus om[n]i[u]m

4 [ex superabundan-]
t]i messe p[op]u[lo] Ant.

m]unus promisit [et
in]tra duos men[s]es

8 a]mphitheatrum ligne-
u]m fecit. Venatione[s]
cotidie omnis ge[ner-
i]s et sparsiones dedi[t,

12 et]gladiatorum paria
x]xxvi per dies octo. [Et ?
con]summato¹ mu[n]ere
cenam po]p[ulo] dedit ?

This stone has been carried far beyond the limits of Antiochian territory into the land of Ouramma, but it certainly belongs to Antioch. Sterrett found it almost completely hidden in the fountain (*W.E.* no. 397). We induced the people to disclose the stone. Calder and I went specially to examine it in 1912, but made no connected sense. Lady Ramsay and I tried it again in 1914, and I give our copy. Part of N in *consummato* remains.

Sterrett's restoration of ll. 1-3 is not true to his own copy. A line has been lost at the beginning.

The date is probably in the early second century, after the governorship of L. Sergius Paullus (perhaps A.D. 67-9) had made the cognomen popular. The meaning is not that this is the first *munus* with *venationes* held in the *colonia*; but that Calpurnius Longus was the first who made use of a bountiful harvest² to give such a show at his own expense. It may be conjectured that he belonged to the same priestly family that is described in the fourth century (*C.R.* 1919, p. 1 ff.); and the pontificate which is often alluded to, sometimes as 'I.O.M.,' sometimes as 'Aug.,' is really the survival of the old priest-

¹ *J.R.S.* viii, p. 141.

² Owing to natural character a bountiful harvest

must be universal in the valley, and not confined to one estate.

hood of Mên-Mannes, Romanized and imperialized. The reigning Emperor was the present deity, the impersonation of the ancient god of the land, and identified with him; he is the θεός πάτριος of the early fourth century.¹

In 1912 we read MESSER in l. 5; but in 1914 I have a note that P is a possible and even probable reading. The lacuna in ll. 4-5 baffled me and many greater scholars for nearly thirteen years. The connexion of a harvest with a promise of lavish shows makes the nature of the lacuna certain.²

A specially good harvest in the fertile plain of the Anthios prompted a rich inhabitant to give the first exhibition of Roman gladiatorial sports and fighting with beasts, apart from ordinary municipal sports. Calpurnius Longus, of a wealthy native family, perhaps derived his Roman name from L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, who governed Galatia about A.D. 15.³ The cognomen Longus, which is very frequent in South Galatia, is probably the translation of a Phrygian personal name, grecised also as Dolichos. The sports lasted eight days and xxxvi (or perhaps lxxvi ?) pairs of gladiators were shown.

Superabundo is not quoted earlier than Tertullian and Ulpian, whereas this inscription belongs probably to the early second century: *ex agrorum abundanti messe* would suit equally well.⁴ The harvest in the very rich plain of Antioch is almost always copious, provided good rain falls in May. Crops sown in autumn depend on the character of the winter, as appears in the next inscription.

The restoration of the last two lines is uncertain; but it was a common custom to conclude such an exhibition with a public dinner. There were not more than 16 lines in the inscription, and *cenam plebi* (or *populo*) *dedit* would be the end; *populo* suits best the position of the solitary fragment of a letter; *populo* would suggest the entire population, *plebi* only the poor.

6. 1914 and 1924 (fig. 25). The following inscription was found in two parts. A piece of the upper member was found by Lady Ramsay and me in 1914. The other is a large block of stone uncovered in 1924 close to the Scalae Augustae in the Tiberia Platea. This stone is 4 feet broad by 39 inches high. I held the *Irade* of the Turkish government authorising me to excavate the site of Antioch; and as Professor Kelsey, head of the expedition sent by Michigan University, had to go on April 30th from Constantinople to Egypt and Naples, I invited the other three members of the expedition, Professor D. M. Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University, head of the Anatolian branch of the Michigan University Expedition, along with two members of Michigan University, E. E. Peterson and H. S. Feizy, to accompany

¹ Anderson in J.R.S. iii, 267 f.

² Restorations like [*ex agri su*]i *messe* are too short: something similar to [*abundanti*]i is needed.

³ J.H.S. 1918, p. 174; J.R.S. vi. 134.

⁴ I prefer *superabundanti* as most probable; but the meaning is certain. Some might date the inscription about A.D. 50; and that was my original impression.

[Exemplar edicti ?]

[Prænomen and nomen]
RVFO·PROC·AVG

L·ANTISTIO·////F
GAL·RVSTICO·COS·
LEG·IMP·CAES·/////////
////////AVG·/////////
PRO·PR·PROVINCIA·RM
5 CAPP·GALAT·PONTI·PISID·
PAPHL·ARM·MIN·LYCA·PRAEF
AER·SAT·PROCOS·PROVINC·HISP
VLT·BAETIC·LEG·DIVI·VESP·ET·DIVI·TITI
ET·IMP·CAESARIS·/////////
10 /////////// LEG·VIII·AVG·CVRA
TORI·VIARVM·AVRELIAE·ET·CORNE
LIAE·ADLECTO·INTER·PRAETORIOS
A·DIVO·VESPASIANO·ET·DIVO·TITO
DONIS·MILITARIBVS·DONATO·AB·ISDEM·
15 CORONA·MVRALI·CORONA·VALLARI·
CORONA·AVREA·VEXILLIS·III
HASTIS·PVRIS·III·TRIB·MIL·LEG·II
AVG·XVIR·STLITIBVS·IVDICAND
PATRONO·COLONIAE·QVOD
20 in d VSTRIE·PROSPEXIT·ANNON

L. Antistius Rusticus leg
Imp. Caesaris Domitiani
Aug. Germ. pro pr. dic(it)
Cum II vir(i) et decurion.
splendidissim. Col. Ant. 5
scripserint mihi propter
hiemis asperitatem an-
nonam frumenti ex-
arsisse petierintque ut
plebs copiam emendi haberet 10
B et omnes qui Ant. Col. aut
coloni aut incolae sunt
profiteantur apud II viros Col.
Antiochenis intra tri-
centisum diem quam 15
hoc edictum meum pro-
positum fuerit quantum
quisque et quo loco fru-
menti habeat et quan-
tum in semen aut in 20
cibaria annua familiae
suae deducat et reliqui
omnis frumenti copiam
emptoribus Col. Antiochens.
faciat. Vendendi autem 25
tempus constituo in k(al).Aug.
primas. Quod si quis non
paruerit sciat me quid-
quid contra edictum me-
um retentum fuerit 30
in commissum vindica-
turum : delatoribus prae-
mi nomine octava por-
tione constituta. Cum
autem adfirmatur mihi ante 35
hanc hibernae asperitatis per-
severantiam octonis et
noventis assibus modium fru-
menti in Colonia fuisse
et iniquissimum sit famem 40
civium suorum praedam cui
quam esse excedere sing.
denar. sing. modios pretium
frumenti veto.

Shallow round hole to hold bronze ornament.

TIBERIA · PLATEA

me in the meantime to Antioch, promising them good pieces of work to do on my *Permis de Fouilles*, for them to publish, while I was responsible to the Turkish Government as holder of the *Irade*. Their work was to be completed within about 21 days on the site; after which they were to accompany Professor Kelsey who had a *Permis de Fouilles* at Sizma. Professor Kelsey, however, found in Egypt that he had to return to Michigan University and, his *Permis* not being available at the moment, they stayed on with me, all working with my *Permis*. I revised the central column in 1915 (see p. 203 f.).

The text is almost complete, except for the erasures. The middle inscription, with the possible heading *Exemplar edicti*, has lost one or two letters at the end of l. 3; in l. 26 *consituo* for

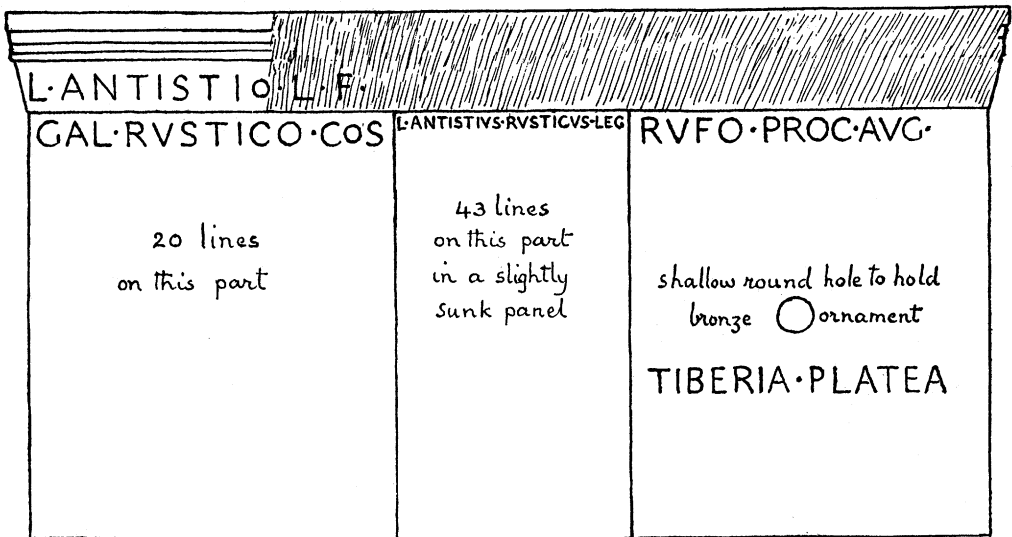


FIG. 25 INSCRIPTION NO. 6.

In l. 1 F remains but L(?) is lost. The P in 'Platea' is larger than the other letters.

constituo is a slip: sometimes a punctuation mark has disappeared or been omitted as in *praemi nomine*: in l. 42 *sino* has been altered to *sing*: in l. 2 a horizontal line turns *Caesaris* into *Caesarts*. Ligatures are rare: l. 6, T with E: l. 11, T with E: l. 39, M with E. In l. 3 at the end what appears to be the remains of a letter is really a punctuation. Three letters, *ind*, have been broken off the left lower corner.

Most of the upper member with its simple entablature has been lost. In 1914 we found part of it in a house in Nevlepjilar Mahale. It shows the general form of the monument, which stood in the Platea Tiberia at the top of a projecting wall; and the name of the Platea with a (bronze ?) ornament fixed into a hole over it shows that the inscription was strictly ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ (according

to custom). The copy of the *Edictum* must have been rather high to be read; but conspicuousness rather than convenience of readers was sought both in this case and in the *Exemplar Rerum Gestarum Divi Augusti*. Few would read; but all the city would look and admire. Size of lower stone $49\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $35\frac{1}{4}$ by $17\frac{1}{2}$. The edictum is incised in a sunk panel with bevelled edges. 'Platea' is inscribed $22\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the top.¹

Antistius Rusticus is twice mentioned by Martial (iv, 75 : ix, 30). According to Friedländer's dating, book ix was published in A.D. 94. Rusticus died in his province Cappadocia-Galatia, and his wife Mummia Nigrina brought his ashes to Rome and consigned the urn to the sepulchre. His death probably occurred in A.D. 93, considering the distance and the slow rate of travel of a lady with her train of attendants. The consigning of the urn to the sepulchre is spoken about as a renewal of grief, which implies a certain interval for the first grief to calm down. The epigram was obviously composed and presented to the widow immediately after the funeral obsequies: ix, 31 is one of the earliest epigrams of the book, as Friedländer points out (p. 61), while ix, 84 belongs to the summer of that year, 94. In iv, 75 (a book published in December 88, and probably composed in the summer of that year), the love shown by Mummia Nigrina in presenting all her property to her husband is celebrated. It was helpful to a Roman official (or to an official in any country) to have the command of considerable wealth, especially during his consulship. The epigram was doubtless written soon after Nigrina's act, while Rome was talking about it and her husband's consulship was approaching. To be a consul's wife was a great dignity in many ways.

Antistius is said by Martial to have died in Cappadocia, but no geographical stress can be laid on this. He died in the province Galatia-Cappadocia. His long career implies that he cannot have been less than 50 at his death. The gift of the wife to her husband cannot have been made in the honeymoon year, unless he was marrying at a mature age.

The letter B at the left-hand side of the middle column probably implies that at this line begins the second page of the tabellae in which the *Edictum* was written.

Antistius never held the praetorship, but was *adlectus inter praetorios* by Vespasian and Titus, doubtless in their censorship, A.D. 73-4. Before A.D. 74 he had held the decemvirate *stl. iud.* and been tribune of the legio II Aug. (stationed in Britain² after 43). After 74 he had been *curator viar. Aureliae* and *Corneliae*, and in 79-81 *legatus* of legio VIII Aug. in Upper Germany of three emperors,

¹ The two Plateae, Aug. and Tib., were the glory of the city. Between them were the Scalae Aug.

² A detachment fought at Bedriacum on the side of Vitellius in 69.

Vespasian and Titus deceased and of Domitian (erased); the years between 82 and his death were occupied in the various duties of a high official, the proconsulate of Hispania Baetica, the praefecture of the *Aerarium Sat.* and the consulship, on which followed almost immediately the command of the great province Galatia-Cappadocia.

It is remarkable that the name of Domitian is twice erased in the *cursus honorum*, but not in the *Edictum*. In the middle of both erasures the title AVG stands clear and untouched by the destroying hand; so also as usual the title IMP CAES or CAESARIS after *legatus*.

The purpose of the edict is clear. The winter of A.D. 91-2 or 92-3 had been very severe and lasted very late, so that all autumn or early winter sowing had been destroyed. The same has been the case in the winter of 1924-25; no snow fell to cover and keep warm the ground, while there was very hard frost. In ordinary winters there is a great deal of snow, often two feet or more deep. Hence the early crops of the year were destroyed, and people had to depend on the spring sowing. This gave opportunity for making great profit to all who possessed any stored wheat from the previous year; and the edict seeks to forbid such profit by ordering a complete list to be made of all wheat beyond what was needed for spring sowing or for household use. Free sale is not to begin until 1 August, when the harvest sown in spring would be available. The country around Antioch is very fertile, and rain is generally abundant. Rain in May is specially important; a dry May is a calamity; even in mid June, 1912, the whole valley was turned by heavy rain into a lake with village-islets.

Any wheat which was stored up by private persons beyond the fair allowance for food and spring sowing is to be confiscated; and an eighth part of the amount is promised to any informers who facilitate detection. Until 1 August the price is fixed. The price in ordinary years was 8 to 9 asses; but a maximum of one denarius per bushel is to be in force until that time. This would give a good profit, but would prevent extortion, and make it useless for any great capitalist to buy up wheat and 'corner the market.' The country is rich, and even in present circumstances there are many quite wealthy persons. Opium,¹ however, is an important product and in 1925 the opium crop is ruined *hac hibernae asperitatis perseverantia*.

The syntactical construction of the edict is a little involved. 'Since the *duoviri* and *decuriones* of Col. Antioch. have written informing me that owing to the severity of the winter the price of corn has risen to an extravagant height and have begged that the poor of the *colonia* should have an opportunity of buying (I grant their petition and take necessary steps to prevent distress, and I issue orders that an inventory be made) and that all who are either *coloni*

¹ A poppy is carved on an altar of Hermes: (cp. *cadaver*) is of Anatolian origin. Pappa meant the native name of opium was *papa*; *papaver* father.

or residents of Col. Ant. make a declaration before the *duoviri* of Col. Ant. (within thirty days after my edict shall have been published) how much corn they have and where each has it stored, and that each may deduct from this total the amount needed for seed corn and family needs, and shall offer all the rest for sale to Antiochian buyers.'

It is to be noted that the missing apodosis would come at the end of page I of the *tabellae*; and a suspicion is suggested that the *lapidaria* omitted the last few lines of the first page.¹ (I assume that the above explanation of B in the margin is correct.) Professor H. Dessau, however, writes that such errors as the omission of the apodosis here are found in many *edicta*.

Rusticus was made *patronus* of the Colonia, and the edict was engraved in a prominent part of the Platea Tiberia. The name of the Platea is engraved on the right side of the stone, and above it is a circular hole of slight depth in which was fixed some object (probably of bronze). At the top of the right side of the stone was placed the name of the procurator of Augustus in Galatia, whose co-operation and approval was needed, as he looked after the imperial interests in the province.

In 1914 we found a part of the upper member that rested on this stone. It contained the name L. ANTISTIO //// F. above the *cursus honorum*—and perhaps EXEMPLAR EDICTI above the edict, and certainly on the left the praenomen and nomen of the (equestrian) procurator; but the middle and right part of this member had been broken off.

The name of Antistius passed into the nomenclature of the province Galatia, e.g. in a dedication (*C.I.L.* iii, 6798) to a veteran of Col. Lustra (not of Nea Isaura, nor of Dinorna, a separate place, as stated in *C.I.L.*), found at Kavak, a village 5 km. below the site of Lustra (Gr. Lystra). The modern name of the site is Zoldra or Zoldera, which is perhaps a modern pronunciation of Sultra, Latinized Lustra. The epitaph has been corrupted, probably by the *lapidaria*, a Greek who knew no Latin and misplaced the lines. It is conjecturally read by Mommsen from Sterrett's copy, as *T. Antistio Nigro vetrano ex mandatis Tattis(?) Flavi f(iliae) uxor(is) eius: perfecerunt monumentum Sex. Caetranus Marus et L. Flavius Valens vetra(ni)*. Tattis may be genitive of the native name Tati. As her father and one of the veterans both bear the name Flavius, the date of the epitaph is later than the Flavian dynasty; but Roman names taken by *incolae* persist through generations. Latin quickly ceased to be much used in Col. Lustra. Even in the time of Trajan an official inscription was expressed in very bad Latin.

7. 1912, 1924. Copied in 1912 by Calder and myself, but our copy did not persuade Dessau in various points in which this inscription

¹ This would explain why A is shorter than B.

differed from others to the same man. In 1913, 1914, I neglected it. In 1924 I copied it several times (sometimes aided by Professor D. M. Robinson and by Mr. Peterson). I saw a squeeze, but the letters are too faint to give value to an impression in difficult points. The inscription is turned upside down in the outer wall of the vestibule of a mosque in Gurgu Mahale. The first few lines, being buried in the ground, are well preserved. The rest are faint and worn and almost indecipherable, and from their position it is impossible to get a close view of them. The stone is behind a door. It looks towards the north-west, and is always in shade, owing to houses facing it. Possibly about 4 p.m. it might be for a short time exposed to the sun; but I never saw it at that hour.

ACILIANO · LEPIDO
FVLCINIANO · COS · CO

MITI · IMP · CAES · L · SEPTIMI

4 SEVERI · PERTINACIS · AVG
INEXPEDITIONE · ORIENTALI ·
PRAEPOSITO · VEXILLATIO

IN and AV in ligature.

IN, IT, IE and NT in lig.

NIBus · ILLYRICIANIS · PERINTHI

IB, IN and TH in lig.

8 TENDENTIBVS · SODALI · HADRI
ANALI · CVRIONI · MINORI ·

TE, NT and IB in lig.

LEG · AVG · PR · PR · PROVIN · GALA ·
PROCOS · PROVIN · NARBONEN

IN in lig.

IN and NEN in lig.

12 SIS · LEG · AVG · PR · PR · PROVIN · BITHy
NIAE · ET · PONTI · LEG · AVG · LEGION ·
XVI · F · F · PRAETORI · VRBANO

IN and TH in lig.

LEG · PR · PR · PROV · NARBONENS

NEN in lig.

16 triBVN · PLEBIS · QVAEST · PROV · CRE
TAE · ET · CYRENAR · CVRAT · NICO
McD · CVR · INTERAMNATIVM nar

AE in lig. also tri.

[with V.
M must have been in ligature

TIVmCVR · GRADISCANOR · TRib

TR in lig.

20 MIL · LATIC · LEG · XI · CL · P · F · XVir
STLIT · IVDIC

The punctuation marks are restored: they have been preserved in the first four lines, but elsewhere are worn and invisible.

The official here mentioned [L. Fabius M.F. Gal(eria) Cilo Septiminus Catinius] Acilianus Lepidus Fulcinianus, is known from several inscriptions now in Rome (especially Dessau, 1141, 1142 = *C.I.L.* vi, 1408, 1409),¹ one dedicated by the Mediolanenses. He

¹ Also *C.I.L.* vi, 1410, 312; xiv, 251, Bücheler, *Carm. Epigraph.* ii, 868; see also iii, 4120, 4617, 11323, 4638, 4642, 14203^{8,9}; vi, 2003; xv, 74475; *I.G.R.I.* 138 De Rossi *Inscr. Chr. U.R.I.* 4; *Atb. Mit.* xxiii, 1898, 165 f.,

Digest, i, 12, 1, 15, 5; xlviii, 19, 8, 5; 22, 6, 1; *C.I.L.* xiii (2), 5330; xv, 7447: also *Hist. Aug. Comm.* 17, 4 and 20, 1: *Carac.* 3, 2; 4, 5, etc. (taken from P. W.).

was *cos. suff.* A.D. 193 and *cos. II* in 204. This inscription was dedicated to him at Antiochea Pisidia, while C.I.G. 5896 was dedicated at Rome to him by Ancyra Metropolis of Galatia (i.e. the Province) Λ. Φάβιον Κέλωνα τὸν λαμπρότατον ἑπαρχὸν Ρώμης, ὑπάτον τὸ β', after he had held his second consulship and had been *praefectus urbi*, but the above three inscriptions belong to an earlier time, between 193 and 204. It is rare to find so many dedications to one officer. He accompanied the Emperor Severus on his expedition to the East, the expedition against Pescennius Niger 193 to 196, perhaps also the Parthian expedition in 197-8: in the latter case most probably the two eastern expeditions are summed up as one. He was also a minor poet (according to Groag), celebrating his own exploits.

The serious difficulties connected with the career and association of Cilo and of Septimius Severus cannot be treated here; only the offices of Cilo mentioned in the Antiochian inscription need be mentioned. The enumeration of his offices in all the inscriptions is far from complete. The Antiochian date is presumably after 195 (on account of Severus's Parthian expedition), but before 204 (as he is only Consul I).¹ Cilo's governorship of Pannonia and his praefecture of the city are not mentioned, evidently because he had not yet attained to them; nor is even his praefecture of the *Aerar. Milit.* alluded to. The last is a pure error, arising perhaps from ignorance.

The Antiochian inscription corrects several small errors in the known inscriptions, but is not free from errors itself.

In this Antiochian text the name of Graviscae was written with D, not with V, and the error must be attributed to the engraver. The priesthood *curioni minori* is engraved in full; *cur(atori) Min(iciae viae)* must be discarded. On this priest see Kübler in Pauly-Wissowa, and Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.*: the priest was sometimes called *sacerdos curio sacris faciundis* (C.I.L. viii, 1174): he must be over 50 years of age. Each *curia* had a *curio* and perhaps also a *flamen curialis*. Being connected with the *curiae* and their religion, the *curiones* reach back to obscure past history. For the unintelligible *pergentibus* in other inscriptions, Antioch substitutes *tendentibus*; and it alone gives the titles 'Pia Fidelis' of Legio XI.

The offices of curator of Graviscae, Interamna and Nicomedia come very early in the *cursus honorum* (immediately after the tribunate of the soldiers of Legio XI) in both the inscriptions which mention these offices. Then he was quaestor of Crete and Cyrenae, tribune of the plebs: *legatus pro praetore* of (Gallia) Narbonensis, then *praetor urbanus*, then *legatus Aug.* (under Commodus) of Legio XVI F.F., then *legatus Aug. pro praetore* of Bithynia and Pontus, then

¹ There is much irregularity in the titulature of Severus, but the want of his oriental titles favours 195.

proconsul governing Gallia Narbonensis, (then *praef. aer. mil.*, here omitted), then *legatus Aug.* of Galatia (under Commodus), after which he probably was in Rome some time. Probably he was selected to be a *comes* of Severus in his Eastern expedition shortly after his governorship of Galatia: the consulship in 193 followed (as often) directly after the provincial office in Galatia: his experience in Galatia was a qualification; and during this expedition he commanded the *vexillationes* detached from the Illyrican legions (which joined Severus) quartered (*tendentibus*) at Perinthus. This must place his governorship of Galatia before the middle of 193; probably he had returned to Rome about July, 193; but according to *Hist. Aug. Comm.* xx, 1, and xvii, 4, he was entrusted by Pertinax with the duty of placing the body of Commodus in the mausoleum of Hadrian.

Cilo's priesthoods are, as usual, placed out of chronological order at Antioch, *Sodalis Hadrianalis* and *Curio Minor*, along with, but after, the higher dignities—consulship and office of *comes Aug.* According to the inscriptions (Dessau, 1141 and 1142), he governed Moesia, and thereafter Pannonia Superior, in the latter case representing (according to 1142) the two Emperors Severus and Caracalla (the latter received the title *Aug.* in 198 before 3 May, according to Wirth *quaest. Severianae* and Cagnat *Cours d'Epigr.*).¹ In the Antiochian inscription he had not yet held the high office of *praefectus urbi*, nor of *cos. II.* Probably he was closely associated with Severus during the struggle for power and the Eastern expedition. He defended Perinthus against the attacks of Pescennius Niger. Perinthus was twice visited by Severus. According to the order of 1142 (Dessau), he was made a *Sodalis Hadrianalis* after his praetorship and before he became *legatus Aug. Leg. XVI.*

It is, however, quite probable that the *Hist. Aug. Comm.* makes an error, and that the corpse of Commodus was removed by Severus from its first ignoble resting-place after that Emperor put forward his claim to be the true successor of the Antonini. Pertinax had little time for ceremonial in his short, troubled reign of three months: moreover, he permitted the corpse of Commodus to be injuriously treated at first. It is highly probable that the *Hist. Aug.* should be corrected (if any one wishes to correct that poor compilation) from *Pertinacis* in *Comm.* xvii, 4 to *Severi Pertinacis*. The governorship of Pannonia was probably not earlier than 208-9: the prefecture of the city was usually held after the second consulship (204).

If our suppositions are correct, Cilo governed Galatia about 190 to 192, returned to Rome in the summer of 193, found Severus in full power there and joined his side, commanded at Perinthus

¹ Probably the error *Augg.* in 1142 in respect of Galatia is due to the right use of *Augg.* in respect of Pannonia.

in the war against Niger, accompanied Severus in his Eastern campaigns, later was *praefectus urbi* and governed first Moesia and then Pannonia Superior. But there are so many errors in the inscriptions that no certainty can be attained without a very much more elaborate study than is here possible. See A. von Premmerstein and many other modern authorities, enumerated in Pauly-Wissowa (s. vv. *Fabius Cilo* and *Septimius Severus* : also *P.I.R.*).

After the murder of Geta, Caracalla returned to the Palatium, leaning on Cilo and Papinianus. Cilo was probably a Spaniard (as several of his *cognomina* occur in Spain) ; and he seems to have had some of the qualities associated to-day in sailor speech with the term 'Dago,' but much of the boldness of Cortes and Pizarro.

8. 1914. Excavated and copied in June 1914 by Lady Ramsay and myself. The first and part of the second line have been defaced by some hand in ancient time, but were still partly legible or restorable. I did not see it in 1924.

V V OPPIA TERTIA
FILIAE · SVE · OPPIAE · L
ET · MEMMIAE · PAVLLAE
SVAE · ET · L · LVCILIO
GENERO · SVO
D S P F

v(iva) v(ivis) Oppia Tertia
filiae · sue · Oppiae L.[f.?
et Memmiae Paullae
suae et L. Lucilio
genero suo
d(e) s(ua) pe(cunia) f(ecit)

If the usual interpretation *v(iva) v(ivis)* is correct, it shows that the Anatolian idea that the making of a tomb for one's friends and relatives during their lifetime as a graceful and kindly act lived on in the Roman Colonia. In a modern court of law such an act would be taken as indicating an intention to get rid of them at an early opportunity. The Greek formula is ζῶν or ζῶσα and ζῶσι. To the Anatolian mind it was a highly important religious duty to have a grave ready during the lifetime of the future occupant. A quaint example was published by the writer in *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 277, ἐνθάδε κείσεται. In l. 2 *sue* for *suae* may be an error of the engraver. In l. 4 the name of Lucilio is written large, and the line is complete. The relationship of Memmia Paulla is obscure.¹ The date is perhaps towards A.D. 100.

9. 1914. At Gemen (γῆ Μηνός), south-east from Antioch, in a bridge (the same in which was found the inscription to Calvisius Ruso and his wife.)² Brought from Antioch to build the bridge, and copied by Lady Ramsay and myself in 1914. Conjecture may be permitted in a difficult inscription.

¹ Memmia Paulla was perhaps daughter of Oppia and Memmius : the oldest daughter takes her mother's name, perhaps because Oppia had the

money. The younger takes her name from her father, L. Memmius Paullus.

² See Dessau in *J.R.S.* 111, 302.

FECCoHITYP	[————— prae-]
TRIBMIL LEG IV	]fec(to) coh(ortis) Ityr(aeorum)
SCYTHIC PRAEF	tribun(o) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IV
EQVIT · PRAEF RIP	Scythic(ae), praef(ecto)
DANVVI	equit(um), praef . rip(ae)
D D	Danuvi
	d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

Stone from a grave erected by the *decuriones* of the *colonia* to a soldier from Antiochea, who had served first in *militia caligata*, and then attained equestrian rank in the army. Claudius arranged the equestrian military career 'ut post cohortem alam, post alam tribunatum legionis daret' (Suet. *Claud.* 25); but this order is hardly ever found, and the regular order in inscriptions is *praef. coh.*, *trib. leg.*, *praef. alae*. Such is the order here. This also is an early inscription, perhaps before the formation of the province Pannonia A.D. 10 (Dessau, 2737).

Legio IV Scyth. was in Moesia from A.D. 9 to A.D. 43 or 47, and in A.D. 5 was in that region which was soon afterwards the province Moesia. It was about 11 or 14 years in Germania Sup. but after 62 was in the East on the Euphrates frontier, and from 66 in Syria and Palestine.

Cohors I Aug. Ituraeorum Sag. is known in Pannonia about 80–98, and was in Trajan's Dacian army in 110. *Cohors I Itur.* is distinguished from it, when it was in Lower Germany, but went with Trajan's Dacian army. A *Coh. Ituraeorum* simply is sometimes mentioned, in *Ath. Mitt.* xxii, 38 ('Inscr. Pessinunt'), in Arrian *Ect.* and in Le Bas-Waddington, no. 2120.¹

10. 1886, 1924. Now in a street N. of the 'Konak': copied in 1924 along with Professor D. M. Robinson and E. E. Peterson on the morning after we reached Yalowatch. Next day it was covered over with mud to prevent our seeing it, either to guard against the evil eye or from mere religious ill-will.

c. novio . c . novi
 prisci cos . et
 flavoniae menodoraē
 filio ser. venuleio
 APRONiano rustico
 XVIR · STLIT · IVdicandis
 TRIB · L · C · LEG · VI fer
 CAPARC · QVAEStori
 5 CAND · LEG · ASIae
 TRIB · CANDidato
 DESIGnato
 VIC · D

¹ The spelling is unusual: the Greek has ov, Latin u.

This is *C.I.L.* iii, 6814: the last letter is broken now, but Sterrett copied it in 1884 and I in 1886, both reading D. It is repeated here, both because in *C.I.L.* Novius is made *praetor designatus*, and because Caparcotna is now known to be the standing quarters of *Legio VI Fer.* in Palestine.¹ The order of the names must have differed in 6814 from 6815 and 6816, records of the same honour erected by other *vici*. 'Aproniano' could not fill a line.

C. Novius Priscus was consul along with L. Julius Romulus in September–October, 152. He was in some way connected with the family of L. Venuleius Apronianus, *cos.* 168 (see *Roem. Mitt.* 1891, p. 338). Some relationship with Antioch, a very wealthy city, still existed in his family, and he married the daughter (and perhaps heiress) of one of the great priestly families, Flavonia Menodora. The son of this marriage, Novius Rusticus, was honoured in early youth and at a humble stage of the senatorial career by all the *vici* of the city: a lively hope of future favours probably had something to do with these honours. His connexion with Antioch may have originated in his descent from Antistius Rusticus, patron of the colonia and governor of Cappadocia-Galatia. The governor of Galatia somewhere about 155 was Fulvius Rusticus Aemilianus; but no relationship is known.²

A fourth inscription of this series is given in *J.R.S.* vi, 130 and a fragment of a fifth in *ibid.* p. 133, no. 140 (perhaps the end of *C.I.L.* iii, 6815).

II. *C.I.L.* iii, 6838, 6839. On one large stone side by side: a very conspicuous stone, so conspicuous that travellers often leave it uncopied. I have seen it a hundred times, and copied it once, 1882.

L · FLAVIO · L · F ·	L · FLAVIO · PAVLO
SER · CRISPINO	SER · DEC · AEDIL · QVAEST
SACERDOTI · I · O · M ·	CVRATORI · ARCAE · SAN
DEC(urioni) L · FLAVIVS · L · F ·	CTVARIAE L · FLAVIVS · L · F · SER
SER · LONGVS · PATER	LONGVS · F · PATRI · SVO · OB
DD	MERITA · EIVS · D · D
HC	H · C ·

IIa. 1912 and 1925, on the first occasion with Anderson. *C.I.L.* iii, 6840, though very difficult, and perhaps incorrectly engraved, may be improved.

L. Fl]avio Flavi Pauli f(ilio)
 Ser. L]ongo decur. aedil. curat(ori)
 arcae] sanctuariae, quaestor(i), et
 Gaiae?C.A]nici f(iliae) Modestae uxori L. Fla-
 5 vius L.F.]Longus vir eius D.D.H.C.

¹ Divined by Professor Knox McElderry, accepted by Dessau in his Index and proved by an inscription of 1914, which gives the name Caparcot. more fully (*J.R.S.* vi, 130).

² L. Fulvius Rusticus Vettius Secundus in *P.I.R.* ii, p. 98.

In l. 5 VIR refers only to the deceased wife, not to the (father ?), who is previously mentioned. A new examination is needed ; but we made nothing further of it in 1912. Sterrett and Mommsen read Pla]nci ; but probably the text is N with a long upright stroke, ligature of N and I. On the *nomen* Anicius at Antioch see *J.R.S.* vi, 94 f. ; *C.I.L.* iii, 6809, 6830, etc.

The decree of the *decuriones* was probably granted in return for payment : in this way the colonia (like Greek *poleis*) relieved direct taxation by granting such honours to those who were willing to pay to the city treasury.¹ This custom gradually was changed into a burden on the *curiales*, which grew heavier and ate up capital as time passed. It is one of the many ways in which the poor and the army exploited the rich in the Roman Empire ; but as yet it was voluntary.

L. Flavius Paulus, decurio, aedile, quaestor, curator of the religious treasury, was the grandfather, L. Flavius Longus was the father ; and L. Flavius Crispinus was the son, priest of Jupiter Optimus Maximus at an early age, dying before his father.

12. 1912, with Calder and Anderson. Copied by Hamilton, no. 178, Sterrett, 1884, Ramsay, 1886 ; published in *C.I.L.* iii, 6818, Le Bas-Waddington, 1816, Henzen, no. 6912 and *Add.* p. 521. In l. 1, Borghesi conjectures 'Sollerti' which the stone does not permit (*Dessau Inscr. Sel.* no. 1017). I add the name before l. 1 conjecturally.

l. caesennio
 P · F · STEL · SO\$pi
 TI · FETIALI · LEG · AVG
 PRO · PR · PROVINC · GALAT
 PISID · PHRYG · LYC · ISAVR
 5 PAPHLAG · PONTI · GALAT ·
 PONTI · POLEMONIANI ·
 ARM · LEG · LEG · XIII · GEM
 DONAT · DON · MILITARIB
 EXPEDIT · SVEBIC · ET · SARM
 10 COR · MVR · COR · VALL · CoR
 AVR · HAST · PVR · TRIB · VE
 XILL · TRIB · CVRAT · COLO
 NIOR · ET · MVNICIPIOR · PRAE
 FRVM · DAND · EX · S · C · PRAETOR
 15 AED · CVRVL · Q · CRET · ET · Cy
 TRIB · LEG · XXII · PRIMIGEN
 IIIVIR · A · A · A · F · F ·

THIASVS · LIB

¹ In Britain honours are sometimes obtained by other objects and does not in any way lessen the money ; but the money goes to party funds or burden of taxation.

In *Berl. Sitz.* 1903, p. 823 f., Mommsen places the *expeditio Suebica* and *Sarmatica* after *Bellum Dacicum I* (A.D. 84) and before *Bell. Dac. II*; but it might be loosely applied to any war on the Danube frontier, 84 to 92.¹

Domaszewski in *Rhein. Mus.* 1893, p. 247, places the expedition mentioned in this inscription between 130 and 140; but this must be wrong, because the province Galatia was certainly separated from Cappadocia (including the two Ponti and Armenia) in some year about the latter part of the reign of Trajan. Even Pontus Galaticus was disjoined from Galatia by Trajan and united with Cappadocia (as Ptolemy shows in his lists). The eastern frontier policy of the Empire was the *provincia* Galatia-Cappadocia between 74 and c. 115,² but after the latter date the *provincia* Cappadocia, while Galatia with Pisidia and Paphlagonia (also Phrygia and Lycaonia) contained only a few auxiliary troops to maintain internal order.

Sospes while he was *leg. leg. XIII Gem.* was awarded the praetorian distinctions, three *hastae purae, vexilla, coronae*,³ in the Suebian-Sarmatian war, which may probably be identified with the war mentioned by Martial as that of A.D. 92. As praetorian *legatus iuridicus* he shortly after commanded Galatia, etc.³ He was probably in office when Domitian was assassinated and accordingly the emperor's name is not mentioned because the inscription was erected after the *damnatio*. His inferior offices, *III vir. mon.*, tribune of a legion, quaestor of Crete and Cyrene, curule aedile, praetor, *praefectus frum. dand.*⁴ are in the ordinary course during the preceding 20 or 30 years.

The son or grandson of Sospes may have been A. Iunius P.f.L. Caesennius Sospes, cos. 163 (see Mommsen, *C.I.L.* iii, 6818). From this governor the name Caesennius seems to have passed into the nomenclature of Antioch, where it seems to be special to some of the great priestly families. In that case the first two lines of this inscription must have been

L. CAESENIO
P.F. STEL. SOSPI

cut (as usual) in very large letters. The largest letters of the inscription, however, are reserved for the person who erected it.

¹ Probably 92: often mentioned in Martial vii and viii, dated Dec. 92 and 93. In ix, 101, 17 f. (published A.D. 94), he speaks of three Suebian and Sarmatic expeditions. Suetonius speaks of two Dacian wars.

² I omit Syria on the south-eastern frontier, which was, of course, a highly important sphere of duty, connected more with the Arabs and the Parthians, who were always pressing more or less on the civilized and orderly Roman Empire.

³ I am not convinced by Ritterling's theory that about 93 or 94, Domitian disjoined Galatia and Cappadocia, leaving Pontus and Armenia to Galatia. Pomponius Bassus 95-101 was governor of Galatia and Cappadocia, Antistius Rusticus 91-93 (died in office). Perhaps Sospes fell between them (as Ritterling says). Capp. is probably omitted by the engraver. These lists are never complete.

⁴ *Praef. fr. dandi ex. s.c.* hardly occurs between Claudius and Trajan (Anderson); but it occurs before and after.

It may be added that *Coloniorum* and *Leg. XXIII* are certainly engraved on the stone; many times we have verified these readings. *XXIII* for *XXII* is a pure blunder; *arum* is corrupted through the neighbourhood of *municipiorum*. Such errors suggest that the engraver was a Greek artisan, not very well trained in Latin; and yet Latin lasted much longer in Antioch than in any other of the Augustan colonies in or near the Taurus. Professor Stuart Jones ingeniously suggests that the title *curator* of *coloniae* and *municipia* may refer to the duty of regulating and aiding the towns injured in the eruption of Vesuvius. The emperors always aided distress; but the interval seems long; a consular would be expected.

13. *C.I.L.* iii, 6824: It may be mentioned that this inscription was recopied in 1912 by Anderson and myself, and in 1914 again verified by Lady Ramsay and me. Date A.D. 22.

14. Antioch: part of entablature: in the old post house.

1. POT. XXII

trib.]pot. XXII

2. a plain lower frieze without any letters.

Few emperors reached a 22nd year of their reign; Tiberius is meant.

15. 1914. Seen in a house in Konia; said to have been brought from Zebir; but we could not learn which Zebir was meant, probably the nearer, Tchesmeli Zebir:—

ὁ δεῖνα υἱὸς Π
 ιλί]που πρεσβυτέ
 ρου καὶ Νεστορη-
 νῆς τυγάτηρ Μάρ-
 κου· καὶ ἀνεστήσα-
 μεν τίτλον τοῦ γν-
 ησίου ἡμῶν υἱοῦ πρ-
 ὧτου μνήμης χάριν.
 Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθι τοὺς ἀναγιν-
 ὄσκοντας καὶ τοὺς γράψο-
 ντας, Ἀμήν.

Πίλιπος for Φίλιππος, τυγάτηρ for θυγατρός, γράψοντας for γράψαντας, illustrate the rude character and pronunciation of village Greek on the central plains. The names of the persons who erected the tomb are made most prominent; but, as the child was probably young, the usual rule that this implies a date not later than A.D. 350 can hardly be applied. The writing is distinctly later in form than would be expected at that date; but the rudeness of the writing may partly account for this. There is no need to draw any inference from γνησίου, as if illegitimate children were set aside. The parents are merely emphasising their love for the lost first-born.

16. 1914. Konia (completing an inscription of Antioch). Panel marked by lines right, left and bottom; broken at top. Iconium was in prov. Galatia until c. 297, although Imhoof considered that it was in the Triple Eparchy.

CLODIAE · IATR

INAE · VXORI · L ·

COSSONI · GALLI

LEG · AVG · PR · PR ·

EBVRENA · MA

XIMA · C · EBVRE

Clodiae Iatr-

inae uxori L.

Cossoni · Galli

Leg. · Aug. · Pr · Pr ·

Eburena · Ma

xima · C · Ebure(ni filia)

The full name of this governor of Galatia, excepting praenomen and nomen, is given in Sterrett, *W.E.* no. 365 (which I have also seen in 1886, as have doubtless others). We learn from the two inscriptions that he was L. Cossonius L.F. Stel(latina) Gallus Vecilius Crispinus Mansuanus Marcellinus Numisius Sabinus. He governed Galatia, Pisidia, and Paphlagonia, the single province after Galatia and Cappadocia were separated after about A.D. 115. He governed Galatia about 115-120. His career is given as *trib. mil. leg. XXI rapacis, III vir cap., legatus* of Asia under some proconsul, quaestor of Pontus and Bithynia, *tribunus plebis*, praetor, curator of the Roads Clodia et Cassia, Annia Ciminia, Traiana Nova, *praef. frum. dandi*, *legatus* of legions Italica and I Traiana Fortis, *procos. prov. Sardinia, sodalis Flavialis*. The governorship of Galatia was commonly the step to the consulship, but this he is not recorded to have reached. Either he died, or was passed over, or the inscriptions were both erected while he was still governor of Galatia. The three parts of the province are here regarded as united under one governor: differing from *Γαλατική ἐπαρχία* under Nero and from the province Galatia above in no. 6; but so are Bithynia and Pontus, which had been united since 64 B.C. and are usually called in the sing. *provin. a.* The letters COS in *procos* of *W.E.* no. 365 are cut much larger than the rest of the inscription, obviously to challenge attention to the office COS.

The stone is incomplete, and another line of the inscription should follow (on the part of the stone cut away by some builder) [ni filia]. *Iathinae* for *Iatrinae* is consistent with the remains of the letters, but improbable, as the name is unknown. *Iatrina* passed into the nomenclature of the province Galatia.

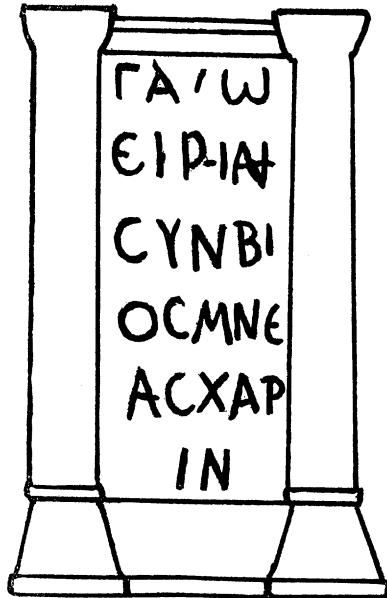
17. 1914. Konia. In the same house as the last, south side of Ala-ed-Din hill. Stone cut into two small altars, side by side.

(1) on front; left altar, bust of goddess veiled; right altar, bust of a god radiated.

(2) and (3) on the two sides; a tree resembling the conventional palm-tree, except that it has three branches instead of one single palm.

(4) Back plain.

18. 1914. Found in Sari Mahale (fig. 26):



Γάτω

Εἰρήνη

σύνβι-

ος μνεί-

ας χάρ-

ιν

19. 1914: found on the Scalae Augustae (fig. 27). 1924: found on the same Scalae. Restoration very uncertain.



Μᾶρκον Ὀστό]ριον

Ποπλίου υἱόν Σκά]πλαν

τὸν κτίσ]την

M. Ostorius P. f. Scapula cos. 59 may be son of the conqueror of Britain under Claudius; but a restoration with Πλάν[κιον] is equally possible. In l. 3 εὐεργέτην is possible.

20. 1914. Konia: on north side of hill of Ala-ed-Din (fig. 28).



τῷ δεῖνι κτλ πα]τρὶ πατρ[ίδος
ὁ δεῖνα π]ρεσβευτῆς Αὐ[το-
[κράτορος Καίσαρος κτλ]

Part of a dedication to some emperor by his *legatus Aug. pr. pr.* Instead of Αὐ[γ.] the proper reading would more probably be αὐ[τοκράτορος Καίσαρος]. This is a small fragment of a long inscription high on the front of a building. It would suit well the time of Domitian.

21. 1914. Antioch. At Konak: perhaps from Kara-Kuyu: broken: has a garland containing a cross similar to the Maltese: no inscription remaining.

22. 1914. Garden in Kizilja Mahale on a stone 6 feet long: complete, except at right end of l. 1.

Γ. Τερέντιος Ἀττιανὸς Πετρωνία Παύ[λλη or λινη
τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ τῇ καλῇ καὶ σεμνῇ καὶ ✕
ἀγαθῇ καὶ ἑαυτῷ μνήμης χάριν

Γ ΤΕΡΕΝΤΙΟΥΣΑΤΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΑΠΑΥ
ΤΗΕΑΥΤΟΥΤΥΓΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΛΗΚΑΙΣΕΜΝΗΚΑΙ ♣
ΑΓΑΘΗΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

This form of epitaph is common in the second part of the third century. The lozenge-shaped O and Θ suit this period.

23. 1914. Same garden in Kizilja Mahale: on a *bomos*: nearly complete; top line broken across, but letters certain: one line at top is lost.

MFSEPRISCVS
ET·TERENTIA·
M·F·MAPCEL
LA·VXOREIVS
SIBI ET·SVIS
ET·LIBERT

M. f. Ser(gia) Priscus
et Terentia
M. f. Marcel-
la uxor eius
sibi et suis
et libert(is).

24. 1914. Hissar-ardi. Also 1924 in a worse condition. Left half of inscription and probably part of bottom of stone lost.

ΔΩΡΟΕΠΠΕ
ΝΒΙΩΑΥΤΩ
ΤΩΤΩΝΥΚΟΝ
ΟΟΛΟΜΕΟΓ
ΕΜΑΡΜΑΡ
ΕΠΛΗΡΩ.

Αὐρ. Θεόδωρος πρε-
σβυ.τῇ συ]νβίῳ αὐτῷ (i.e. τοῦ)
κὲ ἑαυ]τῷ τὸν ὕκ-
ον. Βαρ]θολομῆος
ὁ ἀγαθὸς] μαρμαρ-
άριος οὐκ] ἐπλήρωσεν τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ
(or αὐτῶν).

In ll. 3 and 4 the first letters are incomplete on left. In l. 2 NB, l. 4 ME, l. 6 HP and WE are in ligature.

One stone of a heroon: probably third century.

The formula with οὐκ ἐπλήρωσεν occurs in several inscriptions, usually late and Christian, where the meaning is 'he did not fulfil what he deserved to achieve on account of his premature death' with θανάτῳ in the text.

25. 1914 in Hissar-ardi: complete on left: broken top, right, and bottom.

iSSiM_iC
C
IN
VAL · D

victorios]issimis
[semper]
et] in[victis Augg.
Val(erius) D[iogenes praeses
[provinciae Pisidiae]

26. 1914. On the entablature of a building; between Hissar and Hissar-ardi: by the road at a mill; seen by every visitor.

ΕΥΚΕΩΝΟΜΟΝ Κλαυδιοσελ]ευκέων ὁμόν[οια.

The friendly relations among cities of north and south Galatia is recorded in four inscriptions at Antiochea.

27. 1914. House in Kash Mahale: much broken: top and two sides remain in part: bottom wanting.

LAV' /, C I
=SERF ROC
QIIVIRIL // MIN

T. F]lav[i]o]T.
f. Ser(gia) F[e]roc[i]
q(uaestori) duumvir(um)[f]l[a]min[i]

28. In a house in Yalowatch: lower part of an altar.

TES		ex] tes[tamento
NN		C.E]nn[ium
NCH		A?]nch[arenum ?
LANV		Si]lanu[m
C]C	D[D	Col. Caes. Decr. Decur.

Early first century A.D., when the name Antiochea had not returned into use.

29. Found in Kash Mahale, 1914: complete on three sides, broken on right. Marked with lines.

RA _L	raē or ra · e
TR · EC	tr. ec or eq.

30. Fragment found in Kash Mahale, 1914: broken on top, right, and bottom. There is a broken symbol, not a leaf, at the beginning of l. 1.

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΛ
ΑΥΛΟΣ ΑΡΕΛΛ
ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ Υ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΦΙΛΑΝΔ
5 C ΥΝΟΙΚΗC

Κλαυδιά Λ[ουκία ?
Αύλος Αρελλ[ιανός ?
Διόφαντος υ[μνωδός
γυναικί φιλάνδ[ρω
συνοικησ[άση μεθ'
[αύτου ἔτη . . .]

The letters of l. 5 are all broken but quite certain. A guild of *hymnodoi* is found in many cities. They were not unlike howling dervishes at the present day, but had probably more music in their souls (see *C.B.Phr.* Part I on Brotherhoods, and Part II on Hymnodoi).

31. Found in the court of a house in 1914 : inscription enclosed in a panel indicated by lines.

VV · ARELLIA ·

viva vivis Arellia

T · F · TERTIA ·

T . f . Tertia

SIP₁ IETM · VER

sibi et M· Ver

RIO · ALEXAN

rio · Alexan-

DRO · VIRO¹ ET

dro · viro · et

C · CAECILIO · POSTV

C · Caecilio Postu-

MOA FEC

mo a[mico ?] fec(it).

Good period.

32. Found in a field on the north side of Kash Mahale, 1914 : on a *bomos*, broken above, and on the right side.

GYMNAS ·

gymnasi-

ARCHO

archo

PATRO

patro[no

COLOI

colo[n]iae

D · D

d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

Good and early time ; but it hardly suits the earliest period of the colonia that a gymnasiarch should be its patron. This indicates the substitution of Greek games for Roman venationes and gladiatorial sports.

33. Gelendos : copied by Lady Ramsay and myself in 1914 : on the broken entablature of a heroon : said to have been brought from Ak-Tash-Tepe, a hill on the north of the road to Egerdir, two miles distant. Copied also by Professor D. M. Robinson and Mr. E. E. Peterson and me in 1924, when the stone was a little more broken at the edges. It belongs to the land of Ouramma (on which see *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 146, and *Ath. Mitth.* 1883, p. 72.

ΚΑΙΑΥΡΑΪ ΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ ΚΑΙΑΥΡΑΥΞΑΝΩΝΕ

ΥΤΟΙC ΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΙC ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟ

ΚΑΙΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΜΗΤΕΡΑΑΥΡ·ΤΑΤΕΙΝ

ΩΝΝΥΜΦΗΝΑΥΡΕΙΡΗΝΗΝΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥCΥΝ

Αὐρ. Δημήτριος] καὶ Αὐρ. Ασκληπιάδης καὶ Αὐρ. Αὐξάνων ἐ-
ποίησαν ἐ]αυτοῖς τὸ ἥρωον καὶ τοῖς διαδόχο[ις.

ἐν ᾧ ἔθαψαν] καὶ τὴν ἐαυτῶν μητέρα Αὐρ. Τάτειν

καὶ τὴν ἐαυτ[ῶν νύμφην Αὐρ. Εἰρήνην Δημητρίου σύν-
βιον]

Eirene, wife of the eldest son, was known in the household as the Nympha. This custom was practically universal in Eastern Phrygia and Lycaonia; whereas in Western Phrygia and especially about Laodicea, Apamea, and Eumeneia, it hardly existed in the Roman time; the ownership of the grave was a matter of law in the west, and the epitaph was a sort of *testamentum*, of which a copy was deposited in the Archeia.

34. Kash Mahale: in the court of a house: found and copied in 1914 by Lady Ramsay and myself.

ΜΑΡ·ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC	Μᾶρ(κος) Αὐρήλιος
ΚΑCΤΩΠΤΡΑΓΩ	Κάστωρ τραγω-
ΔΟC·ΠΛΟΥΤΙΩΝΙ	δός Πλουτίωνι
ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΩΜΑ	γλυκυτάτῳ μα-
ΘΥΓΗΤΗΜΝΗΜΗC	θητῇ μνήμῃς
ΧΑΡΙΝ	χάριν

The later second century was the date of this tragic actor and his pupil.

35. Kash Mahale, 1914.

{ ΩΝΙΑΤΡΟΝ	]ωνον ἱατρὸν
{ ΓΕΛΛΙΟCΜΑ-	Γέλλιος Μά[ξιμος ?
CACΚΛΗΠΙΟΥΔ	ἱερὺ ?]ς Ἀσκληπιοῦ Δ[. . .

Probably dates about 300 to 312 (see Anderson's article in *J.R.S.* 1913). Ω seemed certain in l. 1.

36. Two pieces of one stone, in a street and in the courtyard of a house: found in 1914.

M·VEH | ILIO·M·F

37. 1914. Found in Kash Mahale.

{ NISAS	{ ?]ni Sas[?
{ . . . vORI·L·CAES	{ uxori L. Caes[enni
{ . \ARCIANI	{ Marciani

Date: end of first century ?

38. 1890. 1914. *C.I.L.* iii, 6802 (unintelligible collocation of letters): so Sterrett *W.E.* no. 312. Improved in *C.I.L.* iii, 12143 from Hogarth and me. Stone much worn and letters difficult. My most recent copy shows

D·M·
T·FL·DIOMEDIANVS
DIOMEDES·AVG·LIB
ET·FL·CAMILLA·PARENT

I have a marginal note on l. 3, 'CAMBRIA possible: N in ligature' (which illustrates the difficulty of decipherment): Cambria may be an Anatolian name.

This freedman of the Flavian dynasty was in charge of the great imperial estates, on the east and south sides of Lake Karalis, and probably was stationed at Bey-Sheher (Colonia Aug. Parlais) as a central point. At Bey-Sheher, when the water is low, remains of an early Roman bridge could be seen beside the modern bridge. This was a necessary point on the system of *Viae Sebastae* (6 B.C.), radiating from Antioch as *caput viarum* and military centre. Bey-Sheher is the only point on the Lake¹ where there is fairly deep water close to the land, and hence Parlais shows a galley on its coins. It is doubtful whether Karallia or Karalia was on Lake Karalis, because it is always classed to Pamphylia in Byzantine lists: Kirili at the NE. corner of Lake Karalis cannot be Karalia, for Pisidia probably or even certainly reached south as far as this.² It was an ancient site; and a very large milestone (with no inscription left on it legible, or even traceable) of early period marks the line of the *Via Sebaste* to Col. Parlais. The *Via Sebaste* to Col. Lystra keeps away to the east of Kirili to Pappa and Sinethandos (Sitriandos and many other forms were in use).

Probably Diomedes and Camilla (Cambria) were brother and sister, as they erected the monument to their parents; but it is by no means certain that, among the servile and freedman class, the Oriental and Egyptian custom of marriage between brother and sister may not have occurred. Half-brother and half-sister married. The important matter in ancient custom was to keep the property in the family. The right of the daughter to be heiress was certainly recognised in very early times in Anatolia, and her inheritance passed to her husband. This custom of marriage was a step towards the custom of male inheritance, which was usual in Roman Anatolia. The Christian writers even of the fourth century tried in vain to stop such abominable marriage practices, showing that old customs lingered very late.

One of those imperial estates beside Karalis was Askara (seen in the Tekmoreian lists), perhaps the modern Ueskeles (*Stud. in E. Rom. Prov.*, p. 363).

The river (Irmak) at Bey-Sheher flows down to Lake Trogitis, or did so before the new irrigation canal drew off its water and conducted it 206 km. to the neighbourhood of Tchumra, 22 km. SSE. from Konia. The measured height above sea-level is for Lake Karalis 1120 m., Trogitis 1084 m, Tchumra 1022 m, Konia 1028 m. Saïd Pasha discussed this project at Konia, where he was Vali, in 1882, and had preliminary surveys made of the whole route. I did

¹ The west side of Karalis may be deep but the mountains rise steep from the water, and no road or villages exist, as we were informed when I thought of exploring that side.

² Perhaps Pamphylia extended up to the SW.

bank of Lake Karalis in Byzantine time; and Karallia might then be near Ueskeles or Parisbeleni, two neighbouring villages with a fortified site between them. The ancient topography is very uncertain and difficult.

not until 1909 see the wonderful gorge along which the canal goes through the mountains : G. Hirschfield and Sterrett mention reports of it, but neither traversed it. As it runs nearly east and west, it is extremely hot. The canal joins the Tcharshamba river 113 km. from Bey-Sheher, and this river flows to Tchumra and stagnates in the Konia plain. See a paper on Pisidia and the Lycaonian frontier in *Annual Br. Sch. Ath.* 1902-3, p. 243 f, which has to be supplemented by more recent discoveries : also on Lycaonia in *Jahreshefte d. oest. Arch. Inst.* vii, 1904, pp. 57-131 (*Beibl.*).¹

Instead of LIB, it is possible that DIS[P] is the true reading ; Mommsen, *l.c.*, prefers DIS(pensator) ; but my copy inclines towards LIB. The stone is specially difficult at this point.

39. 1914. Found in the great rock-stoa on the east side of the Platea Augusta among many remains of the temple of Mannes-Men (identified with the reigning Emperor in Roman time) ; the temple seemed late Hellenistic.

C IΛΛION ΠΟΥΡΝΙ, ΝΜΑΓΝΟΝ 4 ΤΙΦΙΚΑ	Μ.Α]χιλλιον Καλ]πουρνια- νδ]ν Μάγρον πδν]τιφικα
--	--

The stone is broken below where scraps of letters remain. In l. 1 Και fills the space equally well ; but this *incola* who had been romanised probably recorded his praenomen. Date later than c. A.D. 100, when Greek was becoming usual in Antiochea Colonia, even with Roman names ; perhaps as late as A.D. 300.

40. 1912. At Hissar-ardi, copied by Anderson and me. We failed to find it in 1924 ; but Hissar-ardi has been largely rebuilt, and many inscriptions have been used up in the process.

I · ALAE · ANII 3 · 5 · AEF · VETERAN XII · PRAEFECT O M M A C E N T ^AESARIS · AVG	option ?]i ? alae An[t]i- och., pr]aef · veteran- or · leg ·]XII, praefect. alae C]ommacen., T[i beri] Caesaris Aug.
---	--

CAES/ 6

Col ·] Caes.

Date early in reign of Tiberius.

In l. 1 the first letter may be I or T, but not H or N. The last two letters may be TI or II, but not N or M or H : they are quite

¹ I have a note that the Preliminary Survey made by the German engineers differs slightly from the map, as they finally plotted it at the conclusion

of the enterprise ; but I cannot state details, as my copy of the map was lost (or taken away) on board ship going to New York in 1921.

complete except at the top.¹ In l. 4 C is certain, not G: the last letter is certainly T not I. There is a mark (perhaps part of a letter) after it. In l. 5 there is no mark after G, but there is not space enough to receive the letters VSTI between ll. 5 and 6.

It has been already shown in this *Journal* (*supra*, p. 173) that the early name of the Roman Colonia was Col. Caes. 'Commagen-(orum) I' was not possible; moreover 'I' would come before 'Commagen.'

This inscription is exceptionally difficult and interesting, as it presents very unusual features. Anderson's aid is a guarantee that the difficulties were observed and scrutinised with minute care at the time. It was erected by Colonia Caesarea to an officer who had been *optio*(?) of an *ala Anti*([*och*[*ensis* ?]), *praefectus* of veterans on detached service (as a *vexillatio*) of *legio xii*, and *praefectus* [*alae C*]ommacenorum of Tiberius Caesar Augustus. Such is the best interpretation that the writer can offer. Κομμακων is mentioned only by Ptolemy.² It was a city of Pisidia, and its situation appears to be in the northern part of Pisidia, which was disputed between Phrygia and Pisidia. Now that it is found to be a real place, and not a textual error, some further reference to it may be found.

Two otherwise unknown *alae* are here mentioned, *Anti*[*och*.] and [*C*]ommacen. *Π*[*iberi*] *Caesaris Aug.* The probability has been indicated in *J.R.S.* vii, p. 256,³ that of the seven *Alae Phrygum* which must have existed, six were suppressed at an early date as no longer required, and that only *Ala VII Phrygum* remained and was transferred to Syria (probably owing to Vespasian's new regulations about *auxilia*). These seven *alae* had been needed under Augustus along the Taurus frontier of prov. Galatia to keep order against the mountaineers. Two are here named: a third *ala* was *Aug. Germaniciana* mentioned in four inscriptions of Antioch (*C.I.L.* iii, 6821, 6831 at Antioch, both quite early; also in *C.I.L.* iii, 6822 and Calder in *J.R.S.* ii, 99, dedicated by the *Ala* at Antioch to a procurator of Nero).⁴ I have often seen all these inscriptions.

Vespasian prohibited *auxilia* from serving in their own country, and transferred them to other provinces. Augustus had allowed this, and under his reign the seven *Alae Phrygum* were raised in the southern part of Phrygia, i.e. in Phrygia Galatica, to guard the frontier. Cohorts were ineffective against the swift attacks of the Taurus

¹ Personally, I thought TI, from the spacing; and I think that Anderson had the same opinion.

² Some such suspected names in Ptolemy are guaranteed by one other solitary allusion: e.g. Talbonda is once mentioned as a bishopric identical with Tumandos (*H.G.A.M.* p. 419, where κομμακων is supposed to be an error for Comama Col.). It is strange to find so many similar names in this region, Conana, Comama, Commacum;

and frequently confusion among them is caused to modern scholars.

³ Also *J.R.S.* vi, 96, where by a slip *cobortes* is used instead of *alae*. On *Ala VII Phrygum*, see Cheesman, *Auxilia*, p. 61.

⁴ In the last two the title is *Germanica*, showing that its origin and meaning had already been forgotten, and that it was connected with Germany, not with Germanicus (as was correct). The title was probably given to *Ala Antioch*.

mountaineers, while horsemen were necessary. One of these *Alae* was *Commacen(sium)* or *Commacen(orum)*: another was *Antioch(ensium)*. That the *Alae Phrygum* took their name from the district called by Strabo Φρυγία πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ (Galatic Phrygia), and not from Asian Phrygia, is certain. Such *auxilia* were not needed or raised in peaceful senatorial provinces, as Cheesman points out.

The *Ala Commacen(orum)* was granted a title by Tiberius. The service of the *vexillatio* of *legio XII* may date from the Homandensian war 11–7 B.C. The inscription in that case would be sepulchral. *Vexillarii* of a legion were often detached for service in a different province; and it was only during that war that drafts from external legions were likely to be needed in South Galatia. Now we know that part of the Syrian legions were employed in that war, for Quirinius, *legatus* of Syria, was commanding the army in the war. It is known that C. Caristanius, who was actively engaged in the war, was *trib. leg. XII Fulm.* This lends some support to Grotefend's idea (rejected by Borghesi and Pfitzner) that this legion was stationed at that time in Syria, but Pfitzner's view that it was stationed in Egypt is less wide of the mark than Borghesi's that it was then in Germany. Pfitzner's opinion that it was transferred from Egypt to Moesia in 5 B.C. (later to Syria in 18 A.D.) would suit quite well with the probability that it was engaged in Galatia 11–7 B.C. A detachment of its veterans was under the command of this Antiochian *colonus* and this rank was recorded in his epitaph. The title *praefectus* was used as well as the commoner *praepositus* in such cases of detached service (see Marquardt, ii, p. 465, no. 2: *praef. vexillation., e.g. Moesiae infer. et Daciae.*).

A hypothesis may be permitted: viz. that the six suppressed *Alae Phrygum* were connected by Augustus with the six *coloniae*, Antiochea, Comama, Cremna, Olbasa, Parlais, and Lustra. There was also an *ala Germaniciana* at Antiochea. When the five *Coloniae Augustae* were founded in 6 B.C. after the Homandensian war, and the *viae Sebastae* were constructed to connect them with the military centre and *caput viarum*, Colonia Caesarea (Antiochea), Augustus made each of his new Augustan *coloniae* a seat of one *ala* with land for its veterans. The *alae* gradually ceased to be required, as the Taurus was pacified, and Vespasian (?) disbanded six of them. Excavation is needed to prove or to disprove this hypothesis.

ADDITIONAL NOTE. Professor D. M. Robinson has edited inscription no. 6 in the *Amer. Phil. Assoc. Trans.* lv, 1924, pp. 5 ff. We copied it together, and he has excellent photographs, yet there are several differences in his text from mine. (1) He prints P of the same size as the other letters in PLATEA: his own photograph and my repeated copies in 1924–5 show that this is wrong. (2) At l. 11 he interprets B which stands in the margin, quite distinct from

the text of the second column, as meaning B(ono) or B(onum) or B(ona). He prefers b(ono) te(mpori), which has no meaning and no place here, so far as I can read Latin. On the other hand, after hesitating between F and a ligature of E and T as the first symbol of l. II, he takes it as a ligature of T preceding E. Thus he elicits b(ono) te(mpori), rejecting his other suggestions b(ona) f(ortuna) and b(onum) f(actum). As the B stands outside of the text and cannot be united with TE or ET in the text, and as the ligature is quite clear and certain, and means often ET (although TE is also quite a fair and common interpretation), and as *et* is clearly needed in the text, I venture to prefer the interpretation given in my article. We have hardly any other case where the contents of a pair of *tabellae* are transformed to a marble inscription. In this case the marble col. 1 represents the outside (p. 1) of the *tabellae*, col. 2 in very small letters imitates the two inner pages of the *tabellae* containing the *edictum*, and is marked as such by having the text in a sunk panel with bevelled edges, and by the symbol B at the side of l. II to indicate the beginning of the second inner pagina of the *tabellae*. (3) In col. 3 we have the endorsement of the Imperial Procurator, which was necessary to give validity, as the Emperor's property and revenue were interfered with. Here Professor Robinson suggests that 'the honours conferred on the man who had been procurator of Augustus, and of whose name only Rufus is preserved, must have been on another stone above. We cannot tell whether he is the same as the Rufus who was proconsul of Asia under Domitian (*P. I. R.*).' We can, however, say with absolute certainty that Rufus of equestrian rank about 91-93 cannot have possibly been Proconsul of Asia under Domitian. The equestrian and senatorial careers were absolutely distinct. In exceptional cases a man rose from the equestrian to the senatorial career (usually only if he was in equestrian military service); but no person could rise from civil procurator to senatorial proconsul of Asia so quickly as Professor Robinson suggests. Moreover, the hypothesis of promotion from equestrian rank to the very highest senatorial position (reserved always for *consulares*) is not permissible. The top stone, obviously, contained only one line of text, which in cols. 1 and 3 stated only the *praenomen* and *nomen* of Antistius, and the *praenomen* and *nomen* of Rufus (possibly tribe also); there was no room for more. The architectural top block was the finishing member, and the entire inscription, except one line, was engraved on the block immediately below it, which has luckily been preserved. I cannot agree with much that Professor D. M. Robinson says, e.g. he speaks about L. Antistius [L.? f.] Gal. Rusticus as Galerius Rusticus, and he translates *adlectus inter praetorios* as 'into the Praetorian Guards.' The career of Rufus was certainly not given above on another stone. I can see, furthermore, no connexion between a local scarcity in Antioch and Domitian's

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO PAGE 205.

After the sheet including page 205 had been printed off, further correspondence with the Director of the University of Michigan Expedition to the Near East relating to the arrangements for the publication of inscriptions, etc., from Antioch has taken place, and the statements contained on page 205 must not be regarded as final.—ED.

well-known decree (on which Professor Robinson lays stress). He changes *procos. provinc. Hisp. [U]lt. Baetic* into the impossible *procos. provinc[iarum] Hisp. et Baetic*.

Professor Robinson's article reached me only after the proofs of mine were corrected, but the differences are so numerous and so great that another edition is needed. I may add that I, as holding the *Permis de Fouilles* of the Turkish government for Antioch, am responsible to the Director of Museums and Antiquities for the scientific publication of results. The Turkish government left me free to delegate parts of the excavation to approved scholars; but the ultimate responsibility rests with me. All the architectural and sculptural remains, which are highly important, I leave to the members of the Michigan University Expedition, trusting that they will be published in suitable form; and further I have given to Mr. Peterson of Michigan a bunch of nearly 300 inscriptions, which will, I hope, be done in scientific style under his name and my supervision.



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Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 16 (1926), pp. 102-119

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

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STUDIES IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE GALATIA.

By W. M. RAMSAY.

VII.—PISIDIA.

Artemidorus, quoted by Strabo xii, 7, 2, enumerates the Pisidian cities as follows: Selge, Sagalassos, Petnêlissos, Adada, Tymbriada, Krêmna, Pityassos, Amblada, Anaboura, Sinda, Aarassos, Tarbassos, Termêssos. Some of these names are doubtful, and the list is short. Aarassos is otherwise unknown; Tityassos is a more common form of Pityassos, but variation between initial P and T through TW¹ is characteristic of Anatolian words; e.g. Perseus was the hero-founder of Tersos-Tarsos, now Tersous. It is proposed here merely to register some recent discoveries.

1. Petnêlissos or Pednelissos was discovered by an Italian Expedition in 1919-20. It is probably the most southerly city of Pisidia, using that name in the strict old native sense.² Pisidia was widened very much during the Byzantine administration, so as to include on the north-west Apamea-Celaenae, on the north Apollonia and Metropolis and Antioch, and on the north-east Philomelium.

Speaking roughly, one may say that Byzantine Pisidia before A.D. 372 was the Roman South Galatia. Perhaps it was more exactly so arranged by Diocletian, but there is no clear evidence.

The old cities of Pisidia proper lie among the Taurus mountains, generally (especially the eastern ones) perched high on precipitous cliffs. That seems to have been the case with Petnêlissos, which I have not seen, but judge from the Italian account. It was the case with Adada, which was discovered by Sterrett in 1884 and visited by Hogarth, Headlam (now Bishop of Gloucester) and me in 1890. It was the case with Tymbriada (more commonly spelt Timbriada, as on coins, which are all of the Roman period, and in most Byzantine documents), and it was the case with Anaboura. The present article is concerned mainly with these two cities.

2. Timbriada is situated about three miles in an air-line east of Sarai-Idris,³ a small village on the east side of the modern wagon-

¹ TW is often spelt TB in the Roman period.

² See Paribeni in *Annuario della R. Sc. Arch. di Atene*; the city lies nearly on a direct route from Pambuk-Ova to Selge, difficult and winding round mountains. It is about 3 hours ESE. from Djandir in Pambuk-Ova, 2 hours ENE. from Kizilli-Keui, 5 hours nearly due E. from Milli, 4 hours WNW. from Yenije on the Kestros. The

estimates are rough guesses, taken from Paribeni's map.

³ Idris, 'educated,' as Sayce tells me: Sari (as I first spelt it), means 'yellow,' which seems unsuitable here: probably Sarai (mansion) is the true form. With Idris connect Medresse, school of religion and religious law.

road which goes round the south shore of Egerdir Lake to Antioch. Sarai-Idris is about half way between the towns of Egerdir and Yalowadj, near the south-east shore of the Lake. Only goat-tracks lead from it to Timbriada, which is about 6,000 ft. above sea-level, dominating the land of Ouramma, and hence claiming lordship over it against Apollonia. The claims of the two rivals were decided by one of the earliest governors of Galatia in favour of Apollonia, as is shown in *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 140. The exact position of Timbriada is fairly indicated by J. G. C. Anderson in his map of Asia Minor (John Murray, 1903); but he has it too far south of its true situation at the head of the Eurymedon (a river mentioned on its coins). The Eurymedon rises further to the north than shown on that map¹; and at its extreme head two of its branches mark off the site of Timbriada on two sides: these run in deep gorges. It might therefore be easier to approach Timbriada from the north than by the hard way from the west, as we did in 1926. The explorer should enquire at Yaka Keui or some neighbouring village in the lower Anthios valley (the Land of Ouramma). Personal names are of the Pisidian type, e.g. Obrimos (ὄβριμος Hesych).

Sarai-Idris lies about 3,250 ft. above sea-level, secluded among the lower hills of Taurus edging the Lake. The Lake is 3,035 ft. above sea-level, as measured from a bench-mark at Dineir station (Apamea-Celaenae); but the engineer (Mr. Lamb) stated that this was too great a distance to make the estimated height quite exact. My aneroid observations vary between 3,010 and 3,070 ft. (taken with an aneroid furnished and tested by the Royal Geographical Society); these observations are all calculated from measured points at a considerable distance on the railways, and are mentioned only to show that aneroid observations, though inaccurate, are after all fairly near the truth and serve for rough work. The height of the Lake varies a little according to season.

The termination -ada is a very common Anatolian ending, usually nasalised and made into -auda, -uida, -ounda.² Now the citadel of Selge (Pisidian name Stleg-, on coins), really an outlying part of the city, was called Kesbedion, interpreted by the Greeks as Kesbe-dio-n and connected with Zeus-Dios; but this is pure error, for the name is Kesbe-Yion for Kesbe-io-n. Kesbe or Kasba is an old Anatolian word, which persists in Turkish still as Cassaba (Khasbia in Ptolemy). Hence the suspicion arises that Timbriada is for Timbri-a(n)da³ (without nasalisation) formed from Timbri, seen in the Phrygian river Tembris⁴ (known on coins of Midaion); compare the imperial estate on this river Tembrion,

¹ Anderson places the head of the Eurymedon in Yilan-Ova. The river traverses Yilan-Ova, but does not rise there.

² On the Pisidian rustic language, see Ramsay in *Revue des Universités du Midi*, 1895.

³ Amblada and Amilanda both occur in Byzantine authorities.

⁴ Tembris in *Wadd. Cat.* Tembros in *B.M. Cat.*

Tembre, *Hist. Geog. Asia Minor*, p. 213. The local name of the river in its upper course was Tembrogios,¹ i.e. Tembr-oYo- (known from a local inscription). The lengthened form was the rustic pronunciation²: Anatolian G disappears in modern forms of local names, as in Lagina, now Laina for LaYina: before L it becomes GH as in Mobolla, now Mughla, and Pogla, now Fughla Fulla. GB becomes GG and GO (GOU) in Lagbo-, Lagoe, Laggenoi (Byz.); *Hist. Geogr. Asia Minor*, 182, 49. Pataouion in Ptolemy for common TataVion, may be similar to Tituassos-Pituassos, Tersos-Perseus, etc., or it may be a scribal error.

Tymbriada³ has no connexion with Thymbrion, which was situated east of Sultan Dagħ, and was traversed by Cyrus on the Anabasis between Kaystrou Pedion and Tyriaion. Thymbrion is an old name, which disappeared from later use. It may have been the older name of Hadrianopolis or even of Philomelium. More exact measurements are needed to determine the stages of the Anabasis in this region of Phrygia; the Fountain of Midas, which is a known point, lay on the march before reaching Thymbrion; but as the march was of two stages, 10 parasangs, this is a very vague indication.

3. Anaboura was identified by Sterrett in 1884 as the modern village Enevre, in the plain, and I followed him; but an old man at Yalowadj, who knew me in 1882, told me in 1926 that the true ancient site is not at Enevre but on a peak in the mountains to the west. He called the name Elevre, a good example of the variation between N and L, so characteristic of Anatolian pronunciation. I did not find time this year to visit the site on the peak. A very interesting inscription of Anaboura was published by the writer in *Athen. Mitt.* 1883, p. 71; it states that a family of brothers, who called themselves 'descendants of Manes the god of Ouramma' (see also *J.H.S.* 1918, p. 146), present to the people of Anaboura various public buildings.

These brothers represent a wealthy hieratic family, sprung from the god of this whole district; in Antioch he was Grecized as Mên, and his emblem the Tekmor was regarded as the crescent moon, and he himself as the Moon-god; but he is really the Sun-god Mannes (Hittite Masnes).

These old cities of the Pisidian mountains were deserted gradually by the population, which preferred the pleasant valleys about 3,600 ft. or less above sea-level. The inscription just mentioned

¹ *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 504; on the variation between A and O in Anatolian names, cf. *Hist. Geog. Asia Minor*, p. 189, etc.

² See below, p. 107, n. 2.

³ The names Thymbra, Thymbrara, Thymbres, Thymbrion, Thymbrios, point back to old Anatolian nomenclature, in the Troad, Lydia, Ionia: perhaps

also Θύμβριος, a heroised ancestor of the Θυμβριπιδαι, a section of the people of Synnada, *Hist. Geog. Asia Minor*, pp. 14, 36, also the writer's more detailed article in *Sirena Buliciana*, p. 662 ff. Hill rightly distinguishes Timbriada from the old Thymbrion (which, however, was probably not in Lycaonia).

was carried to Neapolis, situated on the great east-to-west highway (called by the writer, the Pisidian Road, and traced from the Cilician Gates and Heraclea-Cybisra to Apamea-Celaenae in *J.H.S.* 1920, p. 89 ff). These valleys are very fertile, and there is a general tendency in Anatolia to change from war-sites to garden cities. The people loved and still love gardens (*bagh* or *baghtche*). Termessos on its coins styles itself 'the city that owns 370 gardens' (ἡ τὸ κάπους ἔχουσα).

The people of Anaboura spread over the plain in the villages also called Eurdekji, Salir, and others. At the first of these Sterrett found and published an honorary inscription raised by Anaboura. I revised his copy while making a special journey, with his approval, for that purpose, and placed all my results at his disposal (though some of them reached him too late, or were through a mistake disregarded by him; see his note appended to his *Wolfe Exp.* 426 ff). I have always made it a rule to avoid country traversed by another expedition; and, if by any chance I did so in some small degree, I communicated my results (if any) to the former travellers.

Pisidia was part of the Province Galatia from 25 B.C. to the reorganisation of the Provinces by Diocletian. Its frontier lay racially between Antioch πρὸς Πισιδίαν and Neapolis. Antioch and Apollonia were reckoned as Phrygian cities by Strabo; but the Romans placed both in the Province Galatia. Ptolemy and inscriptions both prove this: a milestone of the governor of Galatia, P. Atticius Strabo, A.D. 198, was found near the east-to-west road about six miles west of Apollonia.¹ The milestones erected by this governor are the best indication of the extent of the southern part of Galatia at the end of the second century. They are found in many parts of South Galatia, especially at the north edge of the territory of Iconium.

The western boundary of Apollonia was marked by a large square pillar, two or three miles further along the same road on which the milestone of Atticius Strabo was found, on the summit of the watershed towards Tchapali and Dineir. It is published in my *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 172. This large pillar 7ft. 3in. high, standing on a low circular basis, was found by Sir Charles Wilson and me in 1882; it was then lying with the written side down, and we had not enough men to move it into a more favourable position.

In 1886, mindful of that pillar, I returned and hired 20 men from Tchapali in the valley of Aurokra below on the west. Thus this important inscription was moved and read. The villagers, believing that we were looking for gold, returned again with pickaxes and broke the stone to get the gold inside it. Naturally, they began

¹ This road is proved by the many milestones and the boundary pillar to be the great route. The Via Sebaste certainly passed this way to Olbasa,

Comama and Cremna, though none of its *milliaria* have been found except at Comama; but there are many late milestones.

from the inscribed side; and, although we saw the pillar in 1925 beside its original position, the inscription was a mere fragment, quite indecipherable. The same fate befell the great inscription, the Charter of Orkistos, published by Mommsen in *C.I.L.* iii, soon after we had moved it from its position supporting a mill-race.

That Pednelissos was in Galatia Provincia during the earlier Roman period at least, is the necessary inference from an inscription found there by the Italian Expedition, where it is styled 'city of the Galatae.' This has puzzled Paribeni a little, but it is quite in accordance with custom. The population of South Galatia styled themselves Galatae, when their character as part of the Roman Empire seemed worthy of defining. Similarly with Apollonia: see L. W. no. 1192, where failure to note this custom has led to misinterpretation of a remarkable inscription. This very composite province was designated in different ways at different times; in *C.I.L.* iii, p. 3991, it is Γαλατική Ἐπαρχία: for a time, when it was at its largest extent, it was styled by the enumeration of its principal regions, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Galatia, the three-tribal regions, etc.; but none of these enumerations was complete, and the attempt to draw a picture of the Province from these lists in my *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 253, was useless, though followed also by an excellent scholar Brandis in *P.W.* vii, 551. See also *Menolog. Sirletianum* on Sept. 28: *Acta. Sanct.* Sept. 28, p. 563.

A well-known case where the term Galatae is used in addressing the Christians of the cities in the two regions, Phrygia and Lycaonia, is St. Paul's *Epistle to the Galatians*, iii, 1, where it has caused much controversy.

An interesting allusion to Pisidia occurs in *Acts* xiv. 24. It is characteristic of the style of the great historian that he does not mention Pisidia on St. Paul's journey from Perga to Pisidian Antioch, during which he crossed Pisidia. The traveller was going to Antioch, a city of the region called Phrygia in the Province Galatia¹: his goal alone is mentioned. This was determined before he left Perga. But on the way back, when his work was done and he was free after achieving his purpose, he traversed Pisidia and came to Pamphylia.

4. Another Pisidian town had a similar name ending in -ada, according to an inscription in the valley that contains the villages Imrohor, Sivri-Kalesi, etc., on the course of the Eurymedon. This inscription was copied by F. Sarre and published in *Arch.-epigr. Mitt.* xix, 1895, 31 ff. There it has the name Gynada. In the suggestions that I made on his paper in *Jahreshefte* I, 1898, Bb., pp. 95-98, I proposed to read ὁ Τυναδέων δῆμος, because Γ is often read instead of T, where the top line is blurred. Kalinka confirmed this proposal from an inspection of the squeezes, which were deposited

¹ Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Πισιδίαν, the 'Phrygian city towards Pisidia' (as Strabo defines it).

in the Oest. Arch. Inst., 4 Türkenstr. : “*an Anfange des Ethnikon ist T sicher.*” My further proposal and hope to find βρι at the side of the line, or above it, is now disproved by the identification in this paper, and a squeeze would throw no light on it, assuming that it is correct ; but Pisidia is a very rough mountain-land difficult to traverse ; and to make a useful route-survey by prismatic compass and dead-reckoning is almost impossible. A proper survey by triangulation with theodolite would be necessary ; but that is too expensive. Hogarth and I (with, as I think, the present Bishop of Gloucester) crossed this valley in 1890, but failed to find the inscription, though we found many Pisidian inscriptions (published in *Rev. des Universités du Midi*).

VIII.—MAP OF YALLOWADJ.

The map of Yallowadj (fig. 48) was made with the aid of my friend, H. S. Feizy Bey, Managing Director of the Yalivadj Trading and Manufacturing Company. Some notes should be added. He is not responsible for any errors which I may have made.¹

The name name Yallowadj or Yalowadj is not Turkish : so I was assured by the best Turkish educated men that I knew. It is an old Anatolian name, the first element of which is the name of the priests, who were Grecized as Galloi. Recently, we observe the process by which the name is being made into Turkish. Yali is a common element in local Turkish names, therefore Yalo becomes Yali (as in Yali-Baiyat, Yali-Eyuk and so on). Turkish does not need a W sound : the Arabic Diwan (according to Lane) becomes in Turkish Divan ; Arabic Wezir, Turkish Vezir, etc. The name Yalowadj must mean ‘the of the priests.’ Now the characteristic features of the modern town are the water, and the gardens which the water irrigates, and the streets which it cleans ; but I cannot, with my present knowledge, determine the second element Wadj or OWADJ. Hesychius may reveal more in some undetected gloss : οὐαί = φιλαι (Cypr.) and θα, which is implied in θαρ, a companion (often a woman) must mean a village : cp. Hesych. κώμη ἀμφοδον, χωρίον and κῶμαι ἀγυιαί ῥῦμαι² : θαρ is a member of the same θα, a friend, θαρίζειν to converse, also to flirt with a girl ; these words are characteristic of Homer, and

¹(1) The map is made and published at the special request of Professor H. Dessau.

(2) The course of the river Anthios, which flows through the gorge south of Antioch, and then is divided into a score of channels which run down the streets and in at least one drain under a street, keeping the town clean, cannot be indicated on such a sketch map, but one channel with four bridges is marked, being the most conspicuous.

² On Oa, modern Ova, ancient OWA, see *Hist. Geog. Asia Minor*, p. 143 : A village north of Afium-Kara-Hissar, was Ὀηλέοντος, literally Λέοντος κώμη, interpreted as Γοή έοντος, the wailing of Leo Phokas, who was caught here and blinded. Γ for W was rustic pronunciation. See also Hesych : ὠβαί, ὠάς, ὠγή, ὠά, οὐαί, οὐατῶν.

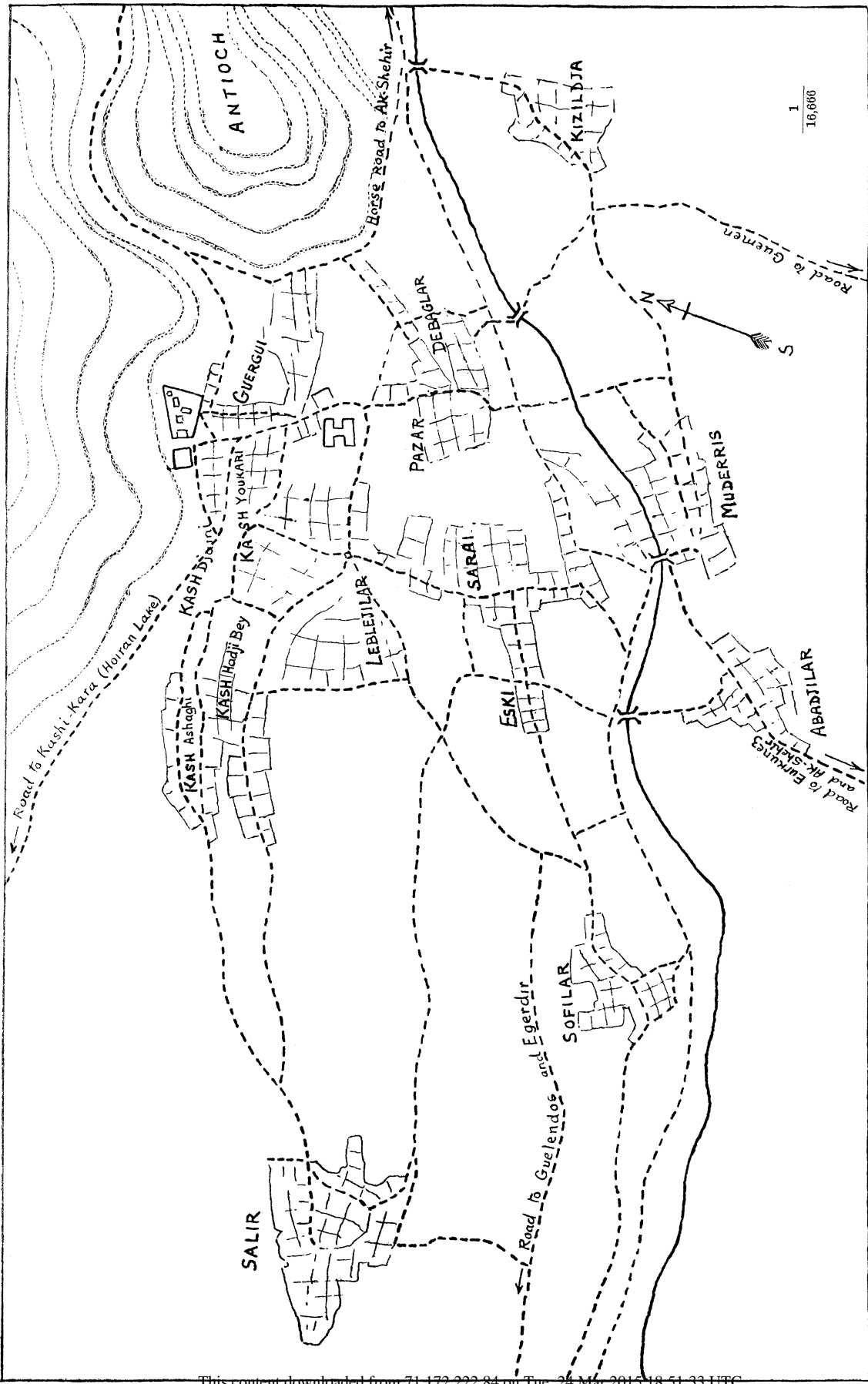


FIG. 48. ROUGH MAP OF YELLOWWADJ, SHOWING THE TWELVE 'MOUHALLES.'

Principal streets and roads indicated - - - - - Chief course of the river Anthios ———— Bridges] [

therefore belong to the Old-Ionian, half Anatolian stock. A village has the fundamental idea of a collection or street of houses along a road (like the 'lang toon o' Kirkcaldy' in Scotland).

I took some trouble many years ago to get a list of the twelve mouhallelar. The following is my list in the spelling as it sounded to me ; I compare it with the present official spellings :—

	<i>Mine.</i>	<i>Official.</i>
	Kizildja	Kizildja
	Muderis	Muderris
	Abudjilar	Abadjilar
4	Eski	Eski
	Sarai	Sarai
	Bazaar	Pazar
	Tabaghlar or	
	Debbaghlar (the Tanners)	Debaglar
8	Nevlepdjilar ¹	Leblebdjilar
	Kash	Kash
	Gurgu	Guergui
	Sofular	Sofilar
12	Salir	Salir

Several other names were mentioned to me as mouhalle, and asserted by others not to be mouhalle. I took the spelling 'mahale' from Sterrett, who first mentioned the twelve divisions ; 'ou' and 'a' are easily confused by the Scottish ear (compare Abudjilar, Abadjilar).

Salir and Sofular are remote from the other mouhallelar. The map gives the impression of a town that has shrunk from its former size. In the fourteenth century Yalowadj was one of the six great cities of the Seljuk principality Hamid : the other five were Ak-Sheher, Kara-Agatch, Bey-Sheher, Seidi-Sheher, and Sparta (Isbarta, ancient Baris, εἰς Βάριδαν). The list indicates the approximate extent of Hamid (see *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 390). Yalowadj was long a part of the vast Turkish province (vilayet) of Konia ; now that Konia has been divided into parts (after the fashion of Diocletian), it forms part of the vilayet of Sparta. It has always been a 'kaim-makamlık.'

Recently the town has increased in size, spreading mostly on the high ground about Kash-yokari and Gurgu and the barracks.

Going up from the bazaars, one passes on the left the Hotel of Independence (quite clean), then on the right the Government House (Konak), then a newly-paved cross-road, then on the left the Lycée (marked on the map), then on the right the large mansion

¹ A good example of the apparently purposeless variation between L and N ; compare above, p. 104, Enevre and Elevre. The natives hardly

notice the difference. Sayce divides the languages of Asia Minor into the N-languages and the L-languages.

of the old Dere-Beys (Lords of the Glen), who were once the lords of Yalowadj, one of the few old Dere-Bey families that have still survived, though shorn of their old splendour and power. Shortly after this the road forks. The left-hand road goes straight up to the fountain¹ in which is the double inscription, *J.R.S.* xv. p. 172. f, no. 11, and on into the country; on the right of it about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile away, is a vineyard in which is a broken exedra of large blocks of stone, with inscription still unpublished. The right-hand street ascends through Gurgu Mouhalle to an open space in front of the barracks. Here there is an open-air enclosure where the soldiers assembled for prayer, though no one now is forced to pray. The low walls used to contain various inscriptions which are mostly lost now or effectually defaced; and there are large graveyards occupying the space where in 1882 Sir Charles Wilson and I camped with his considerable following of men and equipment of tents. Half-way up this right-hand road (which winds much, though straight on the map) is the mosque in Gurgu Mouhalle, containing in its little court, opposite a fountain, the inscription of Fulcinianus (*J.R.S.* xiv, p. 185; xv., p. 258).

IX.—INSCRIPTIONS OF ANTIOCH OF PHRYGIA-TOWARDS-PISIDIA (COLONIA CAESAREA).

My aim has always been to attain accuracy; I have had to thank many for help; and hope to get such help in future. At present I thank Professor Robinson of Johns Hopkins University, Director of the Michigan University Expedition to Anatolia, for his article on 'Antioch in Pisidia' (*J.R.S.* xv, 253 ff.). His photographs² are welcome, and have enabled him to make improvements in the copies as printed by me; but, in presenting corrections of my readings (and those of Borghesi, Mommsen, and Sterrett), he has fallen into certain errors which I shall try to correct³ as briefly as possible.

I.—ANTIOCH-TOWARDS-PISIDIA.

(1) Antioch on the river Anthios was not 'in Pisidia'; it was a Phrygian city towards Pisidia, as Strabo says three times. Phrygian

¹ It should be added that my authority and map omit the continuations of this street past the fountain, and onwards to the north and to the vineyards. The fountain is some way west of the barracks, marked as a large square building, and separated from it by graveyards.

² Professor Robinson has not stated which (if any) of the photographs and enlargements that he publishes were made by Mr. Swain of the Univer-

sity of Michigan, an excellent photographer who accompanied the Expedition.

³ In criticising my article, especially the reproductions, Professor Robinson has hardly taken sufficient account of the inadequacy of type, to which I refer in my commentary, for the purpose of giving an accurate epigraphic reproduction: cf. the editorial note on p. 258.

was spoken on the neighbouring imperial estates at one time, as an inscription shows. The main purpose of the Seleucid and afterwards of the Roman foundation was to guard the fertile Phrygian plains along with the great Seleucid road leading east and west across Asia Minor from the attacks of the eastern Pisidian tribes,¹ and also against the Homanadenses, who adjoined the Pisidians and were hardly distinguishable from them (see *J.R.S.* xii, 229–83).²

(2) Professor Robinson dates the refounding of Pisidian Antioch as a Roman colonia in 27 B.C., before Galatia became a province, while it was subject to King Amyntas: apparently he relies on the one fact that C. Iulius Octavianus became Augustus Jan. 14, 27 B.C. I formerly was inclined to make the foundation of the colonia simultaneous with the formation of the provincia, 25 B.C.; but I now would date it about 21–19 during the reorganisation of the East by Augustus. Dessau in his letters to me was always inclined to doubt the date 25 as too early; and I wrote to him last year that I had found reason to agree that 25 B.C. is too early, and to believe that 21–19 B.C. is more probable. Robinson ought to give some further explanation of his view that Octavianus founded a Roman colonia in the realm of Amyntas. I do not say that that is impossible, but it seems very improbable; and it would be interesting to know his reasons.³

The reason why the colonia was called Caesarea, not Augusta, certainly must have been that the name (as I have more than once said in *J.R.S.*) had been changed to *Καيسάρεια* by Amyntas before Galatia was made into a province of the Empire. The five later coloniae of southern Galatia, founded 6 B.C. (after Agrippa's survey of the Empire, generally called a map, dated by all authorities in the years ending 12 B.C.), were all *coloniae Augustae*.⁴

The city of Mazaka coined money at Eusebeia till 25 B.C.; and the name Caesarea was given to it by a native king. Its earliest coin as Caesarea is dated 10–9 B.C.

(3) Professor Robinson speaks of a temple of Augustus in the great Platea. There never was a temple of Augustus in the Augusta Platea. If there had been, it would naturally have been used as the place on which the *Res Gestae D. Aug.* should be engraved. The temple belongs to the period of 'freedom,' so-called, 189–40 B.C., when the priests of Mannes-Mên ruled, and built their temple to their god. Augustus was of course identified in Colonia Caesarea (Antioch) with the patron-god; but style and ornament show

¹ These attacks are mentioned by Xenophon, *Anabasis* i, 2, 1; they were a continual danger.

² I have described in *J.R.S.* xv the extent of Pisidia, which is known from the enumeration of its cities by Artemidorus c. 100 B.C.

³ As it is, he gives no reasons, but merely states his opinion, *ex cathedra*.

⁴ Pliny, *N.H.* v, 95, who mentions only Colonia Caesarea, uses an authority older than the map of Agrippa, but later than 20 B.C.

that the temple was dedicated to Mannes-Mên before Antioch passed under Amyntas and later under the Roman governors as a province. The city was called Colonia Caesarea from 25 B.C to c. 50 A.D.; but the original name persisted and Col. Antiochea was officially used by the governor of the Province about 92-93.

(4) I consider that the ruin of Antioch was compassed at its capture by the Arabs in 713, when they carried off an immense number of captives. This catastrophe is echoed in the brief words of Theophanes. It was an appalling disaster; and the Arabs must certainly have burned that rich and prosperous city. In several places I pointed out in the excavations little heaps of lime, the results of a fire. That is a *vera causa*. Whether there took place (as Robinson maintains) an earthquake to cause the destruction is not known to me. I have never denied that there may have been one, though I have felt doubts as to its being the cause.

(5) The Temple of Mên (which Robinson calls a Temple of Augustus) was probably destroyed towards 400 A.D., at which period much destruction of pagan temples took place; here also I doubt an earthquake being the cause. In excavations at the Sanctuary of Mên towards Antioch (made in 1912 and 1913) we established conclusively that such destruction was deliberately wrought by the Christians, as I have shown in various publications, mainly in *J.R.S.*

(6) As to the church which stood almost at the centre of the city, I considered it probably of the fourth century, and this opinion was strengthened (a) by the mosaic work; (b) by the name of Optimus in an inscription on the church, for Optimus was present at the Oecumenical Council of 381, held in Constantinople; (c) by the fact that the building of churches at that time was common; witness those of Laodicea, Lycaonia and of Tyre; and such is a natural probability, when Christianity had at last triumphed. Robinson considers that the church was later than the fourth century, but gives no reason; I am unconvinced by his mere assertion in a footnote on p. 253; and, even if he is right, I suggest for the above reasons that the church is a very important memorial of the fourth century.

(7) That 'Jewish territory was taboo to the Christians' I doubt. Whatever I have heard of history shows that Christians have been only too eager to seize the property and territory of Jews.

(8) The *vera causa* which I have stated, producing brittleness of the excellent limestone, was enough to cause widespread damage and splintering, when the blocks fell down the Scalae; but my explanation may be inadequate. The fire after the capture in A.D. 713, calcined the fragments; and thus arose the remarkable fact that so

little of the *Res Gestae D. Aug.* at the Scalae was preserved.¹ No fragments were found near the Temple.

(9) One thing is certain. The place continued to be inhabited in Byzantine and even in Turkish times. A remnant of the population, which had escaped, crept back after 713, as proved by their wretched mud-brick dwellings among the stately remains of the great city. Other remains prove Turkish habitation; but the superior attraction of life in a garden city like Yallowadj made that place the sole habitation in the fourteenth century, when it was one of the six great cities of Hamid.

(10) Damage done by 'blows with a pickaxe' could hardly have been so systematic or so complete as to destroy, e.g., the greater part of the *Res Gestae D. Aug.* That inscription, which must have been a great ornament to the city, was not so likely to excite the animosity of the Christians as the Temple of Mên or a Jewish synagogue inevitably did. I am not an authority on masonry, but many of the smashings appeared to me to be due primarily to a fall from a height but 'blows with a pick-axe' may have perhaps done damage; the point is quite immaterial.

II.—NOTES ON THE INSCRIPTIONS (*J.R.S.* xv, 253).

No. 1. My 'duumviru[m]' is right.² I have specially marked in my original copy a space for a missing letter between V and DD. Robinson's readings 'duumvir V' suggests the question why Asper was never *quinquennalis*, as he must have been if he was five times *duumvir*. Moreover the triple gateway (mentioned by me) which Robinson describes bears a mutilated inscription in bronze letters on the gate, which confirms my interpretation.³ My printed copy errs in not making the last O in l. 1 smaller than the other letters: I agree with him and have it so in my MS. copy, where I mention that O was squeezed in.

No. 2. This stone in 1914 and 1924 was in its original position, where Peterson found it again. Robinson would have done better perhaps to leave it in its place than to dig it out. It formed a mark, which may be useful in future. Its distance from what he calls the 'Propylaea' was very much more than 100 feet. Stops should have been indicated by me after D S P, as he rightly says.

¹ Use of a pickaxe would leave fragments such as were found, but would not account for their disappearance. Robinson maintains that all surviving pieces have been found and I agree that this is probably so. A great fire would lick up and destroy many fragments and account for the facts. Many of those which were found were in places sheltered from the worst fire.

² The Greek has *τριῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγενόμενον κτλ.*: *duumviru[m]* is gen. pl. The *Mon. Antioch.* has this fragment almost complete, with reading certain.

³ I ascribed its discovery to Mr. Peterson, as he and Professor Kelsey, sitting in my house in 1924, agreed was the case.

Mere type cannot represent the position and size of T, and his photograph shows this.

No. 4. He has better eyes than I, if he could see 'traces of ἐτίμησαν,' but the reading is in itself quite probable. Type cannot adequately represent 'the forms of the letters A, Y and H'; but they are all common. In his note on this inscription Professor Robinson gives the text of a Greek inscription which he and I in company found and copied in the ruins of a dervish house, Han Kah Yazla, near Lake Egerdir,¹ a description which conveys the minimum of meaning. These ruins are on the west bank of the Lake. Has he confused them with another Seljuk Khan on the east coast of Egerdir Lake?² He correctly says that the building was 'ruined.' He mentions 'two photographs and a squeeze' (not reproduced); but does not add that I read it along with him on the morning before starting from the railway station north of Egerdir for Antioch (a two days' journey). His text agrees with my copy. The spelling Ἐνυαλίω is, as he says, 'worthy of note.' I should explain it as due to local pronunciation, which placed a yod between two vowels, a common Anatolian phenomenon. The yod is represented in Greek by iota. As to 'the reversal of the usual order,' chronological order and the reverse are equally common. I cannot agree that this inscription is 'a translation from the Latin.' It was written in Greek originally, and a distinction between Greek epitaphs written by natives and 'translations from Latin' is often important.³

No. 5. On the journey to Antioch I took Robinson to see no. 5 after sunset in May 1924: it stands in a fountain far from the road. We stayed thirty seconds at it, and came away. He doubtless returned later in the automobile of the Michigan Expedition.

It might be asked how his copy and poor squeeze could confirm my very bold restoration, in which lies all the value of the inscription. Sterrett in 1883, and I⁴ in 1912 and 1914 copied it; but the loss of so much of the text has kept me and better scholars than I am puzzling over it from 1883 to 1925.

No. 6.⁵ The excellent photographs published in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* vol. lv are, of course, far superior to my typographical copy of two, and transcription in small letters of one, of the columns (it being necessary to make columns i and ii of approximately the same length). I am indebted to Robinson for correcting some

¹ It was found north of Egerdir, on the west bank of the Lake. What Kah Yazla means is unknown to me. The ruins I would call Seljuk. Egerdir was captured by Tamerlane in 1402 on his march from Smyrna to Konia.

² Egerdir (Akrôtêri) is about fifteen hours distant from Antioch, and is separated from it by the territories of Ourēmna and Timbriada, and the mountains which are crossed by the Pass of Demir-Kapu.

³ The Greek text of *Res Gestae D. Aug.* at Ancyra and at Apollonia is a real translation from a Latin original.

⁴ I omit others who were with me in those unsuccessful attempts: they probably took no further interest in an apparently hopeless inscription.

⁵ Professor G. A. Harter has discussed column i in excellent style in *A.J.A.*, vol. xxix (1925), 429 ff., correcting Robinson's errors.

misprints in my text : I wrote '1915' for '1925,' 'right' for 'left,' 'praedam' for 'praedae' (this is correct in my notebook copy), 'CORONA' for 'CORI' in one case (also correct in my MS. copy). My arrangement of col. i in my original copy agrees with his photograph. Type causes some difference. Robinson can see no indication of any such heading as '[exemplar edicti ?]'; but I indicate this as being possibly on a separate stone, a mere conjecture. In col. ii, 42, my eyes were better than his.

I have nowhere said that there is space for six or nine letters lost at the beginning of l. 4: Professor Robinson (I presume) mistakes the customary indication of erasure for an indication of the number of letters lost. His statement of the position of letters in ll. 4 and 5 agrees with my copy, but not with the printer's text. I did not give a transcribed text of this *cursus honorum*, as it is so simple and regular.

Robinson speaks of 'the E of the second ET as being taller than the other letters' in l. 8. There is no second ET in this line; but he is thinking of his own reading in his edition in *A. Phil. Assoc. Tr.*, ET for VLT, at the beginning* of the line: thus arises a second ET in l. 8. He says that A is not preserved in l. 18, and only a part of P in l. 19. He is right, and my original copy agrees with his statement.

In col. ii, 11, Robinson insists on reading BF. I examined this carefully in 1925 and again in 1926; and sent a squeeze of the part to Dessau. His statement of the position of the letters in different lines is correct, and agrees with my copy; but printer's type cannot give this rightly. We copied the inscription together. The false *praedam* crept into a hasty transcription which I made for Dessau. He returned it at my request to me, and I let it go to the printer without careful verification. My article *J.R.S.* xiv, 1924, pp. 172-205, was written within six days, and there were interposed various difficulties in proof-reading.¹ My interpretation of the enigmatic B outside the column is a hypothesis, and knowledge grows by hypotheses. The so-called F is a ligature of T and E. Robinson says that 'some of the other lines are as far to the left as the B.' His own photographs in *A. Phil. Assoc. Tr.* disprove this. He has mistaken some of the ends of lines in col. i for parts of col. ii. Col. ii is in a deep indented space with bevelled sides; and it is cut with sharp edge to the letters on the left, and B stands clear outside the other letters.

Robinson's fragment with L. CALPVRNI has no connexion with this stone, or with a procurator. The known Calpurnii Rufi

¹ There would have been more errors in it had it not been for Professor Stuart Jones's great care, for which I am profoundly thankful to him. I had to telegraph to him about the proofs from Naples

in June or July, 1925, and forgot in my haste to sign the telegram, which reached him, but was difficult to comprehend.

were of senatorial degree, and could not be procurators. As to the name Calpurnius being common in Galatia, I have been for years making a study of the names of *incolae* who received the *civitas*. They fall mainly into two classes: (1) those who take the praenomen and nomen of the Emperor and a cognomen from the governor of the province; (2) nomen and praenomen from the governor, cognomen from their native name. I have as yet found none who took their name certainly from a procurator; but I shall be glad to learn of any certain case. There were two governors of Galatia with nomen Calpurnius during the first century.

As to this procurator of 6, it is enough to specify (with Mr. W. H. Buckler's help) his probable name, C. Furius C. f. Rufus, who was afterwards probably procurator of Asia (towards 100 A.D., as the office was higher); *P.I.R.* considers that his date is uncertain, but the lettering suits the date here suggested.¹

In the first line of the upper fragment, Robinson has omitted the F, which I copied, but which is shaded as if it were a restoration in the drawing published by me. In 'L. F.' only 'L' is lost. Robinson's two fragments (no photograph: no impression) may have nothing to do with no. 6, or with my fragment. I did not derive the name of Antistius from the fragment which I had found, but from col. ii of this inscription.

I mentioned specially the superior size of P in 'plateau,' as it will hereafter prove to be important; but that belongs to another story.

The famine mentioned may have been local or it may have been general. In Asia Minor weather, altitude, and other conditions vary greatly. In favour of the former supposition there are two considerations: (1) the evidence and the remedy are local; (2) Antioch lies very high (4,000 feet summit level, though the plain is lower). The fact that 'the harvest of 50 B.C. was a failure throughout the province of Asia' does not prove that the famine at Antioch caused by long continuance of the winter severity, under Rusticus (92-93 A.D.), was general throughout Asia Minor.² I cannot here agree with my honoured friend, Rostovtzeff³; but I may say on his side that I have once known a long-continuance of severe winter weather⁴ extending far over the plateau.⁵ Generally, however, the weather of the Antiochian district west of the Sultan-Dagh (a great

¹ Chapot, *Prov. d'Asie* does not admit him (as Wadd. does, no. 108) as proconsul on the authority of a much worn coin of Domitian. I found at Antioch in 1926 a broken inscription:

≡VSINIO
≡VEL·RVFO

² I have stated some facts about famines in some parts of Asia Minor in the second series of my Gifford Lectures, now in the press. Further, a famine in the low Asian ground near the sea is unlikely to extend to the central plateau, and *vice versa*.

³ Rostovtzeff's quotation from *Revelations* is apt; but there is more to say, which I have indicated elsewhere.

⁴ This late winter weather on the plateau was not common to the lowlands of Asia, where mildness prevailed.

⁵ The storks, which come in late March to the plateau, found nothing to eat and died in numbers; 70 per cent. or 80 per cent. of the young lambs died. I heard both estimates. This was in 1908; in 1909 the storks delayed their arrival six weeks.

range, reaching 8,000 feet), is different from that of the eastern plateau.

I did not 'admit that the transfer of the contents of a pair of *tabellae* to marble¹ is hardly known.' I spoke of the 'transformation,' not the 'transfer.' The edict would be communicated in *tabellae*: that a trace of this might have survived in the inscription is possible. I have advanced my suggestion to account for a difficulty. I may be right or wrong; but obviously the contents of the *tabellae* were re-inscribed on stone.

I consider it highly probable that the text of the *Res Gestae D. Augusti* was sent from Rome to Antioch in a copy written on papyrus (or perhaps on parchment), and that the lettering on the limestone, which is in many parts quite unlike the *scriptura lapidaria* of about 14-20 A.D., was intended to imitate the writing of the paper copy. The stone-cutters of the *Mon. Antioch.* vary in their forms of the letters, but on the whole the *Monumentum* makes the impression of being imitated very closely from writing in ink on papyrus. Remarkable things were done in Antioch during the first century, owing to the desire of the *coloni* to show that their *colonia* was a part of Rome, separated only by space, but truly Roman.

The following strictly *tentative* table, made with help from Dessau, Liebenam and Stuart Jones, may serve to replace a paragraph and some desultory remarks by Robinson on p. 257 of his article. For any trustworthy additions I shall be grateful to him.

*Legati Augusti pr. pr. prov. Cappadociae Galatiae.*²

CONSULARES:

L. Sergius L. F. Paullus ³	-69
Calpurnius Nonius Asprenas ..	..	69-
Cn. Pompeius Collega ..	..	74-76
M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa	..	79
A. Caesennius Gallus ..	..	80-82

Ti. Iulius Candidus Marius Celsus ..	..	90-92
L. Antistius Rusticus ..	..	92-93
T. Pomponius Bassus ..	..	96-100
(probably already leg. 95).		

Aufidius Umber ..	..	100-101
P. Alfius Maximus ..	..	101
P. Calvisius Ruso L. Iulius Frontinus	..	106
M. Iunius Homullus ..	..	114-115

PRAETORII IURI DICUNDO:

Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus	78-79
----------------------------------	----	-------

C. Antius Aulus Iulius Quadratus	..	shortly before 93
----------------------------------	----	-------------------

L. Caesennius Sospes.	..	
-----------------------	----	--

¹ I have often in conversation called white limestone by the title marble: this is the result of asking the Anatolians frequently about mermer-tash, marble stone; but I have avoided the wrong term in print except in one case in my article.

² The *legati* usually remained in office several years, often three, in one case five or six; but there is not sufficient evidence to make the dates precise and full. I give only dates that seem certain.

³ There is no proof that Sergius Paullus was a consular, but the joint province Capp. Gal. was not so large then as later; and praetorian *legati*, were perhaps not sent at that time. To replace him Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas was sent by Galba from Pamphylia to take over the duty, which implies his death. Sergius is called *filius*, which is an imitation of the Greek νέος or νεώτερος, used in our sense of 'junior.'

About 115–116 Cappadocia and Galatia became separate provinces (consular and praetorian).

No. 7. Professor Robinson states that he read the stone and that I used his copy and his two impressions; but this is not the case, as I only saw one impression made by him, and could make nothing of it. I did not know that he had visited the stone again, or copied it, and his second impression I never saw; but the editors of the *J.R.S.* find that the photograph of his squeeze ‘cannot be reproduced satisfactorily.’ The letters, except the part buried, are very faint and difficult. I was content to make out the text sufficiently to restore it, and when NAR was certain, I did not trouble to search further, but restored the form in the usual fashion of transcription. So also many other letters, especially at the beginning and end of lines. I have erred, as he says, in putting into the epigraphic text my own restorations, IS in PLEBIS, L in LATICL. Be it so. Standing on my head, as near as could be, I found my eyes were not calculated to do good service.

I must add that Calder and I dug out this stone in 1912, and that our copy (which did not convince Dessau at the time) is now completely proved to be accurate. The inscriptions in honour of Fulcinus vary much. I showed the stone to Robinson, and spent much time on it in 1924.

No. 9. Under this Professor Robinson makes reference to an inscription which I found at Gemen in the substructure of a bridge. That inscription, as being very difficult, Dessau kindly undertook to publish. I mentioned (as quoted by Dessau) that the inscription was hidden on the left side by a wooden column, forming a main support of the bridge. Some one removed the column: the bridge soon collapsed, and in 1925 the stone was on the opposite bank of the stream in a position where it could not be photographed. My restoration *lec* where he could photograph LEC, and so on, are due to this cause. It would be extraordinary if Vespasian were not styled DIVO under Trajan; but this Robinson insists on doing. I would read [Divo Im]p.

No. 11a. I have remarked that the text is ‘very difficult and perhaps incorrectly printed by Mommsen, *C.I.L.* iii, 6840.’¹ The enlarged photograph given by Robinson makes everything plain, and justifies my transcription and restoration. The text in his photograph is ICI preceded by the upright stroke of N, and this can only be part of the nomen Anici, which is well known at Antioch. The important point in this inscription, which is needed for the history of the family, is that NGI cannot be the reading, and that NICI may be read with confidence. He corroborates my reading VIR against Sterrett, but omits to say that I have read the word so.

¹ Mommsen had never seen any copy of mine, as I did not go to Sidgilli until 1912. He depended on Sterrett.

Nos. 16, 18, 19, 24, 25. I may add that in his note on no. 19, Professor Robinson seems to be referring to a different stone from that which Lady Ramsay and I excavated on the Scalae in 1914; that the Γ for Ε in no. 24 and Ρ for R in no. 25 are obvious typographical errors; and (what has not been criticised by Robinson) that in no. 16, l. 33, COS should be deleted (the office is the pro-consulship), and in no. 18, 'Sarai' is misprinted as 'Sari' in my article.

No. 33. Robinson here gives an example of the difficulty of representing an epigraphic text in type. He corrects the symbol for *xi* as given in my text to another symbol, which is quite as remote from the form on the stone as mine; and yet the printers have evidently done their best by cutting a type-form to satisfy his demands. It is impossible in metal type to produce forms like *scriptura lapidaria*; the hand of one stone-cutter produces a different result from another. For example, in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* and the *Monumentum Antiochenum Rerum Gestarum D. Aug.*, which are almost exactly contemporaneous, the writing is different; and in the latter it is evident that several different stone-cutters were employed. In the case under notice the important thing is to have the common personal name Αὔξων correct. I should add that I find in an old note-book of 1881 a copy taken from Sir Charles Wilson's copy made in 1878. Again in 1926 I copied the text with no variation. Words are the object of epigraphy. It would be easy to go over the *C.I.L.* and discover as many faults in Mommsen, even where he used squeezes. He had to employ metal type.

I should be grateful if Professor Robinson would sometimes criticise and improve my restorations; but these he omits or in one case says that his copy and impression confirm me. He omits entirely nos. 2, 3, 13-17, 20-22, 25-30, 31-40; but he holds out the hope that he may recur to some of them in 'the final publication,' but perhaps, like Solon, he will say, as he studies Anatolia, 'γεράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.'



Studies in the Roman Province Galatia

Author(s): W. M. Ramsay

Source: *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 16 (1926), pp. 201-215

Published by: [Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies](#)

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STUDIES IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE GALATIA.

By W. M. RAMSAY.

X. THE ROMANS IN GALATIA.

The term Galatia is here used in the widest sense, equivalent to Γαλατική ἐπαρχία of *C.I.G.* 3991.¹

It is a remarkable feature that there is hardly any allusion in the inscriptions of Galatia to *πραγματευόμενοι* Ῥωμαῖοι or ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι. I do not remember one; but they may occur rarely and have escaped my notice or memory. In the province of Asia these *cives qui ibi negotiantur* occur very frequently.

The solitary allusion of any approximate character that I know in Galatia is ὁ δῆμος οἷ τε συμπολιτευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι², which indicates a closer connexion and more equal rights between natives and *cives Romani* than was the case in Asia. Paul was a Cilician, and the same rule seems to have held there as in Galatia. He was at once a Tarsian and a Roman. On the other hand, the well-known but little-understood case of Egnatius at Philomelium, mentioned in four of Cicero's letters, shows that Egnatius was purely a *civis Romanus* who was trading at Philomelium. With this was certainly connected a difference in legal standing. In Asia the Roman resident was legally in a much more favourable position than he was in Galatia. The position of foreigners in Turkey under the Capitulations and since the Capitulations were abolished illustrates the difference. Under the Capitulations the foreign resident could appeal to his own consular court; now he is subject entirely to the Turkish courts.³

The difference between the provinces Asia and Galatia in this respect is fundamental. There can be no doubt, though this is mere hypothesis and not susceptible of proof—it is like many things in Roman Asia Minor from the Hittite and pre-Hittite period downward—that it is due to the form of organization instituted in the Province Galatia by Augustus in 19 B.C. The influence exercised by the *negotiantes Romani* in Asia and the hatred that they inspired during the late Republican period are well known. The province

¹ Galatia Provincia was the entire kingdom of Amyntas, last king of Galatia in the narrow sense, together with Pisidia, Southern Phrygia and Lycaonia.

² It occurs at Isaura Palaia (Sterrett, *W.E.* p. 107, no. 181), and is perhaps later than the organisation of the Triple Eparchy; but social institutions could not be seriously affected by that provincial alteration. Sterrett's copy is better than his transcription in ll. 4-5. Ταρκυνδ Βερραν is the name, not

Ταρκυν(2) Βερραν, nor Gurlitt's Ταρ'κυνδερραν (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1889, p. 730).

³ Yet the Capitulations were imposed by the Turkish sultans, who were reluctant to admit foreigners, and kept them as much as possible outside the Turkish law and Empire. The rights of the *cives Romani* were imposed by the Roman traders forcing the Senate to give them a position outside of and above the Pergamene law.

was, in reality, occupied and conquered by them. They went before the Roman eagles, and pounced on the land. The Senate did not wish to make Asia a province, but the *publicani* did, and they made a rich harvest from the provinces; and they suffered for it in the great massacre. Cicero did all he could to prevent injustice during his administration of his vast province, which included three *conventus* of what was called Asia, both before and after him, and also under a few governors about his time.

Augustus took measures to prevent this exploitation of the new province of Galatia; he tried to keep out the dominant influence of the Roman traders. The details are unknown, but may be recovered by collection and comparison of the inscriptions.¹ He probably at first tried to Romanize the province; but the influence of the Greek language was so great that it had to be admitted as practically equal with Latin in rights, while it was far more widely spoken. In Ancyra, where Gallic influence had been supreme and one might have expected that the change to Latin would have been almost easier than to Greek, the Greek language and manners ultimately triumphed; and a Helladarches was a grade of honour (almost sacred in character) nearly equivalent to Galatarches, high priest of the emperors in Galatia.

Intermarriage of Italian Romans with wealthy Anatolian families is suggested by the names; but the subject is peculiarly obscure and difficult, and our sections I and 2 consist largely of suggestions and hypotheses. However, a frank and bold statement may arouse reasoned contradiction or elicit new evidence, and thus knowledge may grow.

I. *The family of the Sergii Paulli.*

One of the most remarkable inscriptions that have been found in Anatolia was copied in an old cemetery near the village Yaghjilar, at the head of a stream that runs north to join the Sangarius. The cemetery lies in the open plain of the main plateau above the village. It was copied by Professor W. M. Calder and me in 1910: he had found it in 1908, but had not copied it.

The inscription appeared in the *Expository Times*, April, 1918, p. 324; but, as that periodical is hardly accessible to scholars, the popular article there cannot be counted equivalent to publication. The War long prevented scholarly research, as nearly every one was engaged in doing work for which peace had not fitted him; my notebook of 1910 disappeared on a visit to London during the War; but I had a copy of the text,² which remained forgotten till 1918.

¹ Such comparison of inscriptions and inference from them must always be of the nature of hypothesis based on classification.

² The copy was made on a separate sheet in the

gradual preparation of the whole of the inscriptions gathered by the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, which may perhaps one day appear. It is identical with Professor Calder's copy, as I believe.

MEMORIAE	memoriae
CN.CORNELI·L ANI	Cn. Corneli L.[l.] ani
DECVRIAL · VIATORIS	decurial[is] viatoris
SERGIA·L·F·PAVLLINA	Sergia L. F. Paullina
CORNELI · SEVERI	Corneli Severi

This apparently simple inscription suggests many problems. Of the two Cornelii Severi known to us, the epic poet of the Augustan age, to whom Ovid wrote *ex Ponto* iv, 2, and whom he mentions in that work (iv, 16, 9) cannot be thought of—he is much too early—whilst M'. Acilius Glabrio Cn. Cornelius Severus, cos. 152, is too late; but M'. Acilius Glabrio, cos. 124, who was probably his father, may have had as his mother a Cornelia Severa, since M'. Acilius Glabrio, cos. 91, may have married a Cornelia and her second son may have taken the mother's name, as was not uncommon, and transmitted it to the consul of A.D. 152.

Sergia Paullina and her husband, Cn. Cornelius Severus, belong to two noble families of Rome. How do they appear in a remote and lonely part of northern Lycaonia? Their marriage was unknown until here revealed. Sergia Paullina acts: Cornelius Severus is a secondary figure. She orders the grave to be prepared (and suitably marked), yet the dead freedman bears her husband's name and was more closely connected with him. The circumstances prove that the marriage was a happy one, and that the husband and wife were a united pair.

Cn. Cornelius L anus was *viator decurialis*, a Roman official of humble rank, usually a freedman, so that we may probably restore L. [l.] He was given this Roman title on his tombstone, when he was buried in Lycaonia by order of Sergia Paullina. There are several difficulties remaining.

One of the important features of the inscription is its bearing on the theory of Groag in *P.W.* ii, A. Sp. 1714 ff., that the Sergii Paulli of the first and second century were a leading Greek family of Antioch in Pisidia before it became a *colonia*, wealthy and highly honoured; and that the first known member appears in the person of Sergius Paullus the first, *procos. Cypri*, A.D. 46 (*Act. Apost.* xiii). This theory was formerly reasonable in itself; but now it loses probability when we see that not merely did one of the Sergian family marry an Antiochian husband (*J.R.S.* xiii, 262) but another married a Roman noble probably about or not long after A.D. 100. The Sergii Paulli were connected with Italy (see *P.I.R.*) and with a place on the frontier of Lycaonia and the tribal Galatia: the exact frontier in those regions of plateau, undulating or level, is extremely uncertain.¹

¹ The only attempt to fix a boundary exactly was that made by Professor W. M. Calder in the *Class. Review*, 1908, p. 213; he assigned one inscription

to the province Asia, and another a few miles distant to Galatia; but he abandoned this view later, when a fresh reading of the inscription, which had

A frontier can only be very loosely indicated on the basis of long classification and study of inscriptions.

Further, Groag's theory seems to imply that a Greek *incola* was allowed to assume the Roman nomen *Sergius* because Antiochian *coloni* were of the Sergian tribe (except some of the original *coloni* who were *cives* and had a tribe before the *colonia* was founded). This is not in accordance with my observations and classification of the *nomina* which *incolae* were allowed to take in the provinces of Asia Minor.¹ It is also highly improbable that a Greek family was allowed by Augustus to attain senatorial rank, as the progress upward from non-Roman status to senatorial rank was long and slow. It cannot be supposed that an *incola* in the *colonia* rose as rapidly as a *colonus*, and the progress was slow even in the case of a *colonus*, as will appear in the following pages.

This inscription to the freedman must be taken in connexion with the dedication to 'L. Sergius L. f. Paullus filius' at Antioch Pisid. in letters of the middle or end of the first century.² It is unfortunately incomplete: part was engraved on one stone, part on a stone below it in a wall. The lower stone has not been found.³

Enough remains to show that this Sergius Paullus the son had not attained the consulship, but was passing through the sub-consular senatorial *cursus honorum*. Such a person was in all probability son of the proconsul of Cyprus, A.D. 46, and must naturally be taken as praetorian governor of Galatia. This relationship in family Groag has rightly perceived. The family was senatorial for at least a century and a half.

That the addition of *filius* after 'L. Sergius L. F. Paullus' implies that both father and son were Antiochians (as Groag argues) is certainly forcing too much meaning into the word. It is far more probable, and in accordance with analogy that (like *νέος* or *νεώτερος* in Anatolian Greek) it implied merely *iunior*: 'L. Sergius L. f.' would not show that the father was alive; the addition of *filius* implies that the father was still living.

A lady, married to a Roman noble, whose freedman had been a sort of *apparitor* (*viator decurialis*) in Rome, is far more likely to be a Roman of Italy than a descendant of a Greek family in a provincial

seemed to mention a proconsul of Asia, gave a different text. Thus the evidence that one inscription belonged to Asia vanished. He mentioned the correction in *Class. Review*, 1913, p. 11. *ANΘ* was transformed on fresh reading to *ANOT*, the end of a personal name. The error was easily made, and was corrected by the maker of it.

¹ Natives in the *colonia* (*incolae*) who became *cives Romani* took the nomen either of the Emperor, or of the provincial governor, or in a few cases of some Roman officer with whom they had come into relation; but never of an official of procuratorial rank (so far as my knowledge goes). Doubtless

there was some rule regulating the new Roman *nomina*. The cognomen was often the older native name; or was taken from the provincial governor along with the imperial nomen (this would be the highest grade).

² It is published in my *Bearing of Recent Research*, etc. p. 151, but there it is hardly accessible to scholars, as Groag mentions. He makes it the corner-stone of his theory.

³ This arrangement of dedications on adjoining stones in honour of governors of Galatia was common at Antioch.

colony. Yet how did her name come to be on a stone near the north Lycaonian frontier? The conjecture is reasonable that of the vast imperial estates (inherited from Amyntas, last king of Galatia, in accordance with his *testamentum*, and thus passing into the imperial wealth that was transmitted from emperor to emperor), a part was bestowed on L. Sergius Paullus *filius*, when he was governing Galatia. This custom of making gifts is well known: it belongs chiefly to the first century and is rare later. Rostovtseff has collected a list for Egypt. Seneca, who had a faculty for acquiring property, seems to have had such an estate in this region, as the names Annaeus and Seneca occur, probably transmitted by freedmen or free residents on the land.

It cannot be supposed that Cn. Cornelius Severus was a governor of Galatia travelling with his wife and train, and that his freedman died. Cornelius is mentioned too casually. A governor would be the central figure. Nor need it be supposed that any person mentioned except the *libertus* was on the spot. Sergia Paullina was the owner of the estate, and anything done on it was done on her authority and in her name. Her husband's freedman had been sent by her on some errand, perhaps as manager of the estate. Here he died and here he was buried. The other older Sergia Paulla was daughter or sister of a governor of Galatia, and was with him in his provincial duty. In that situation she married a wealthy equestrian of Antioch, Caristanus, who was pushed on by the influence of her family.¹ Thus the circumstances all fall into their appropriate sequence, whereas Groag's theory must be set aside.

This marriage of Sergia Paulla and C. Caristanus, the *colonus*, took place early in the career of Caristanus and helped him to rise from the equestrian to the senatorial career. He had the influence of a great family behind him. He was *adlectus inter tribunicios* and quickly *promotus inter praetorios*, and thus qualified for holding the praetorian office of legatus in Lycia-Pamphylia. As Cheesman, *J.R.S.* iii, 266, says, the career of the Caristanii, bred in an outpost of the Empire, is a striking example of the door opened to merit in the imperial service.²

We assume that Sergia Paullina was a daughter, or even granddaughter of the younger L. Sergius Paullus, *filius*. In this family there was a traditional interest in science and philosophy, seen both in *Acts* xiii, 8, and in Galen's reference to Sergius Paullus, *cos.* ii, as attending the anatomical demonstrations given by the great physician, *P.I.R.* iii, p. 222.

¹ cf. *J.R.S.* iii, 265. An inscription from Cadyanda (*J. G. Rom.* iii, 511) mentions C. Caristanus Paulinus who, as Cagnat suggests, was probably his son.

² Groag's theory is far more marvellous: that a wealthy *Graeculus* of an obscure provincial *colonia*

passed into high Roman position, and that his son was holding a praetorian governorship in 46 B.C., implies a door so open as to be hardly a door, but rather an open highway for Greeks. In the sequel examples will be given showing that there was a door and a difficult path.

All these suggestions are, of course, hypothetical ; but nothing is known discrepant with them ; and ancient history (especially of Roman families) is largely hypothetical. Much that is currently accepted, and taught in schools, is found, when probed, to be based on hypothesis. The sole proof is when, as knowledge increases, nothing is found to confute a sound and sane hypothesis.

We conclude, then, that the lady held in her own hands the family property ; and, if that be so, the family must have nearly died out. This may be conjecturally connected with the long gap in the history of the family between Sergius Paullus, *procos. Cypri* in 46 and L. Sergius Paullus *cos. II* in 163, bridged now by the discovery of Sergius Paullus the younger, of Sergia Paulla, as well as of Sergia Paullina.¹ It is to be presumed that the death of the son when he was only a *praetorius* was premature, and caused the vacancy which was filled by Galba (who began that system of concentrating under one administration those provinces in central Anatolia, which was carried out, probably in 74, by Vespasian). His sister or daughter married C. Caristanius Fronto legatus pr. pr. of Titus and Domitian of the province Lycia-Pamphylia.²

The wealth of the Sergii Paulli lay, so far as evidence goes (see *P.I.R. s.n.*), in Italy and far away in Lycaonia-Galatia more than in Antioch. The most reasonable explanation lies in the character of the family, its breadth of outlook, its superiority to the narrow old view that Romans of Italy must rank apart from the provinces of the Empire, its readiness to marry into an ancient provincial family, like the Caristanii, who were a typical and outstanding Antiochian house, wealthy (as is evident) and good soldiers. The theory of inter-marriage between Italian nobles and outstanding wealthy provincial families is far more probable in itself.

The Caristanii were the leading family of Antiochea Colonia, as the old Greek name revived already in the middle of the first century ; but though a Caristanius was an outstanding figure, nominated *praefectus* to represent two honorary duumvirs at least during the Homanadensian War, yet the Caristanii did not rise above equestrian rank until about A.D. 80. The army was the path of honour of the *coloni* at Antioch ; but it was not easy for them to rise above equestrian rank in the army ; and yet Groag's theory would have it that a mere Greekling of the pre-Roman city was admitted to senatorial rank long before any of the *coloni*.

¹ She was certainly a generation older than the consul, and is probably the same Sergia Paullina whose estates are mentioned in the inscription on a tile dated 134 (*C.I.L.* xv, 516) and whose name occurs on several inscriptions in Rome (*C.I.L.* vi, Index (1926), p. 169, *P.I.R.* iii, 223 ; cf. Dessau, 7333-5). Borghesi's theory was that Sergia Paullina was daughter of the consul II of 168 : but Dessau's

view was in itself far more probable, that she was his sister or his aunt.

² The stone published by Cheesman in *J.R.S.* xiii, 262, was still in its old place in 1926. The *cursus honorum* of Caristanius, erected in 81, while he was governing Lycia-Pamphylia, has not been seen in recent years.

To take another example ; the Anicii were a leading Antiochean family. One of them, P. Anicius Maximus fought his way up from the ranks : *caligata militia* is, as usual, omitted, but his career from the primipilate onward is given. He attained equestrian rank, and was *praefectus* of the army in Egypt and also *praefectus* of the honorary duumvir, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*cos.* A.D. 32).¹ Perhaps it was his son Anicius Maximus who attained senatorial rank and was proconsul of Bithynia under Trajan.² We know that the *praefectus* was born a *colonus* of Antioch not merely because he was of the tribe Sergia, but because the *colonia* erected a statue to him.

It seems practically certain that a man in the senatorial *cursus honorum* could not be in Galatia except as governor, or as a traveller, and the latter supposition is practically excluded. At that time the two provinces Galatia and Cappadocia were not united, and the governor of Galatia was a *praetorius*.

Galba, during his brief reign, sent Calpurnius (Nonius) Asprenas to command Pamphylia and Galatia (*Tac. Hist.* ii. 8). Now as Pamphylia was a procuratorial province, there seems no other explanation except that the governor of Galatia had died, and Calpurnius was sent in haste to administer both. The union of the two was merely a temporary device : a procurator could not take over Galatia, but a praetorian legate could take under his command Pamphylia, where possibly the procurator³ would remain under him (like the procurator of Galatia). Now there is every probability that Sergius Paullus governed Galatia about this time, so that I have ventured to place him as the prematurely-dying predecessor of Asprenas (*J.R.S.* xvi, 117).

The action of Galba in uniting Galatia with Pamphylia is the precursor of the great change introduced by Vespasian, who united Galatia with Cappadocia, making one vast eastern province.

2. In June, 1881, I copied several inscriptions in a heap of material collected to rebuild a ruined bridge over the Iris at Amasia. These epigraphic texts were published in *B.C.H.* 1882, pp. 27 ff. ; the stones were broken and trimmed at the edges, but the letters were quite clear on the uninjured part of each stone.

The following, with bad and partial restoration, is printed in the *Bulletin* with metal type, generally an unsatisfactory method (see *J.R.S.* xvi, 119) where exact reproduction is wanted ; but, as the letters in this case were of a common form, with metal types made

¹ Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* 2696.

² Pliny *Ep. Traj.* 112, 2. A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand* (1927), p. 335, makes the Proconsul of Bithynia the grandson of the *Praef. exercitus qui est in Aegypto*. The sons of *equites illustres* were often admitted to the senatorial *cursus honorum* by permission of the emperor.

³ Pamphylia in this period was separate from Lycia

(which was governed by a praetorian legatus), and was administered by a procurator, *C.I.L.* iii, 6737 ; Pamphylia had been made a province in 25, but 6737 is the sole authority for its status. I published the inscription in *B.C.H.* 1883, p. 259, having copied it along with Sir Charles Wilson in 1881. Naturally I ascribed it to him, under whose orders I was. (I mention this as it does not appear in his notebooks sent me by Lady Wilson after his death.)

to suit such shapes, the published copies are really better than many so-called 'facsimiles', in which the quality of eye and hand of the maker and copyist plays a determining part.

I happened to pass the place where the stones were being built into the new bridge the same day an hour later (as we stayed only one day in Amasia)¹ and observed that the stones were already used up. It was a lesson that one should never lose a moment in copying an inscription.

[Λεύκιον ?]
 [Κορνήλιον]
 [Λ. ὕ. Λένυτλον]
 Γ]αιτου[λικόν
 ἐφιππίοις
 χ]ρυσσοῖς τετ
 ι]μνημένον καὶ
 π]ορφύρα, Κορνηλι-
 α]νῇ Πρεῖσκ[α Ζήνω ? -
 νος τὸν ἐ[αυ-
 τῆς υἱὸν [τ-
 ὄν ἀ]ξι[όλογον

This inscription gives rise to many interesting speculations.

The name of the mother is Corneliana: a form like this is not early, and points to the end of the first century or later. Cornelius, Cornelia, are in origin adjectival and become in time liable to be enlarged by the termination -anus, -ana.

The ornaments with which her son was honoured are not Roman *dona militaria*. Some extraordinary *dona* occur in Dessau's *Inscr. Sel.* cf. his *I. Lat. Sel.*, I, 2712, where a friend erects to a deceased soldier a monument recording various of the usual *dona militaria*, and adding that he was honoured, by the armies in which he served, with gilded *bigae* and equestrian statues: also *ibid.* 2531, where a daughter and a freedman, heirs of a deceased soldier, mention that he had been presented by his fellow-soldiers with a shield, crowns and brass pots gilded.²

The gifts with which the son of Corneliana Prisca had been presented (it is not stated by whom: therefore presumably by fellow-soldiers in some Roman corps)³ are magnificent golden (or gold-enwrought) saddle-cloths and a purple robe. Cloth or embroidery worked with gold is a feature of Anatolian ornament to

¹ Arriving at Amasia before noon, we started at sunset, riding two nights to the coast. I was travelling with an official (a vice-consul), who was in a hurry to reach Samsun. Only the need of hiring three horses and a guide allowed the delay in Amasia.

² I presume that this is the meaning of *aenulis*

aureis. [It may be suggested, however, that *aenulis aureis* is an error for *anulis aureis*.—Ed.]

³ Lentulus was serving in an *ala* either as a soldier or as an officer in *equestris militia*. The latter is more probable, as he appears to have been of high Pontic rank, and unlikely to have been a common soldier.

the present day.¹ Such gifts suggest almost royal descent and make it necessary to examine the family to which this unknown man belonged.

Since the mother, who erects this inscription to her son, was C(ornelia)na Prisca,² it seems almost certain that her son, in whose cognomen-*αἰτου* occurs, was Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, bearing a noble Roman name. Presumably there had been a marriage between a wealthy Anatolian lady and a Roman officer of the gens Cornelia. Such marriages were not rare. The name ΚΟΡνήλιος occurs often on coins of Laodicea on the Lycus; and from that city the noble and wealthy family of the Zenonidae and Polemonidae came to Pontus, giving kings to the country called Pontus Polemoniacus.³ Conjecturally we may introduce Cornelianā Prisca as an unknown member of that family, putting as her father an unknown Zenon (where Polemon would almost equally fulfil the conditions, except that it is rather long).

The restoration of the son's name introduces us into Roman surroundings. As to the restoration there can hardly be a doubt: [Γ]αιτου[λικός] imposes itself and the rest follows from a comparison of the mother's name (as restored convincingly). Beyond the names there is nothing but conjecture. How did such names come to be used in Pontus Polemoniacus, part of the double province Galatia-Cappadocia, probably about A.D. 100? How did Lentulus Gaetulicus come to be honoured (by his commilitones? or by his friends?) with gifts that suggest some regal character? Yet he is not more than equestrian in Roman rank, ἀξι[όλογον or ἀ]ξι[ολογώτατον].

Cossus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, cos. I B.C., acquired the second cognomen from his conquest of the Gaetuli in A.D. 6. He transmitted this cognomen to his second son, Cn., and his descendants: they were consuls in A.D. 26 and A.D. 55, after which they all disappear. The hypothesis suggests itself that one of them married into the wealthy Asian family of the Zenonidae (originating from Tralles and Laodicea), which gave kings to Olbia and to Pontus and conquered or tried to conquer Bosphorus.⁴ Then we have Corneliū both in Laodicea on the Lycus and in Pontus. In Laodicea they leave their names on coins as late as Domitian, evidently becoming strongly Grecized, or in more accurate terms, Anatolized and Greek-speaking.

The following coincidences may be merely fortuitous, but they are worth marshalling in order. The legend KOP on Laodicean

¹ We purchased at Dorla an embroidery dated by an expert in the fifteenth or sixteenth century: it is stiff with gold work.

² The H in ligature N-H was misunderstood and entirely omitted in my attempted transcription of 1882; but is quite clear.

³ Taken into the Province Galatia-Cappadocia

74, later belonging to the Province Cappadocia (after A.D. 115). Bosphorus was added to it by conquest.

⁴ See Waddington, *Rev. Num.* 1866, p. 429; Mommsen, *Eph. Epigr.* i, p. 275, ii, p. 263, also *C.B. Pbr.* i, p. 42 ff. Dessau in *Eph. Ep.* ix, p. 691 ff. controverts Mommsen's view.

coins is wrongly explained in my *C. B. Phr.* I, p. 57, as a Greek form of Coronatus, i.e. στεφανηφόρος.¹ M. Imhoof-Blumer wrote to me correcting this. Founding on the legend ΔΙΑ · ΚΟΡ · ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ on coins of Domitian, he pointed out that 'les personnages, dont le nom est précédé de διὰ ou παρά sont généralement des particuliers sans titre politique, au frais desquels le monnayage semble s'être fait.' Assuming this interpretation we have a series of persons named on Laodicean coins, Cornelius Dioskourides under Augustus and Domitian, Cornelius Aineias under Nero.

Some difficulty is introduced by the legend ΚΟΡ · ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ ΤΟ · ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ under Augustus. τὸ δεύτερον usually implies a magistracy held for a second time: but it can also imply 'Cornelius Dioskourides son of Cornelius Dioskourides.' The late M. Waddington wrote to me that there must have been a great Laodicean family, bearing the nomen Cornelius.

These opinions are here stated very fully, in order to show that these great numismatists divined the truth, when ΚΟΡ. (often in monogram) was the only form known at Laodicea. Later Imhoof (*Kl. Münzen*, p. 266) published two coins with the name in full, furnishing complete proof of what had long been a mere hypothesis.

The Roman name Prisca (or Priscilla in familiar form)³ was connected with Pontus. A Jew of Pontus, Aquila, married a lady named Prisca. He was doubtless a *civis Romanus*, even though it appears that Prisca was of higher rank than he. Like Paul, Aquila was a σκηνοποιός (a word whose connotation need not trouble us here). We are not plunged into that most obscure problem regarding the penetration of Christianity during the first century among the aristocracy of Rome. Aquila and Prisca were evidently possessed of considerable means, and could travel about freely; they were in Rome, in Corinth, in Ephesus, and again in Rome, so that either business ties sat very light on them, or he was a merchant on a large scale. They were evidently of high Pontic rank.

The name of Aquila is to be interpreted as a cognomen, and implies no connexion with the Roman gens Acilia.⁴ His nomen, like Paul's, is unknown.

3. A friend writes to me that in my article on the 'Topography of Nova Isaura' (*J.H.S.* 1905, p. 163 f.), with regard to the identification of which city he has always been very doubtful,⁵ I do not

¹ I quoted in a footnote a very great scholar, whose authority seemed to me decisive; but evidently it is unparalleled that a Greek title should be expressed by the Greek spelling of its Latin translation (not elsewhere found).

² In my text, p. 57, I mention that 'the formula with διὰ does not imply a magistracy, but merely a voluntary expense'; but I failed to draw the same inference as M. Imhoof-Blumer.

³ Paul uses the more formal name Prisca, whereas

Luke uses the more familiar Priscilla. It is characteristic of the man of higher rank like Paul to prefer the more formal method of designation.

⁴ This connexion would be tempting, if it could be maintained.

⁵ His expression 'always' is a slight exaggeration, as the article appeared while he was an undergraduate, before he had begun to take the slightest interest in Anatolian matters, and three years before he had seen any part of Asia Minor.

seem to have noticed that practically every house in Dorla has its own well. He has not read my article with great care, otherwise he would have seen that I distinguish carefully on p. 163 between towns dependent on a river for water and towns supplied by wells. That is the point on which my argument turns. He assumes that I make Dorla the site of Nova Isaura. That is also incorrect. Dorla was the hill (*mons*) opposite, but near, Nova Isaura, and was sacred to the Magna Mater. Here the dead were buried, near the Mother that bore them. Hence Dorla is full of tombstones; but it was not the city; it was only the cemetery of the city. 'The whole hill was full of graves,' as I say.

The city was and is separated from the cemetery on the hill by a small stream, and was largely dependent on this stream for water. The stream was easily diverted to pass on the other side of the *n. ons*, and thus the city was straitened for water and was speedily captured. Such is the account given in Sallust's *Histories*, and by Frontinus. Servilius occupied the hill of Cybele (i.e. Dorla), whence the soldiers could throw a *telum* into the (forum ?) of the city (text uncertain).

The hill (*mons*) was on the west bank of the stream, the city on the east bank; a Scot would call it a hill, others might prefer the name 'mount.' It rises in the centre higher than the Mons Palatinus or the Capitolium or any other hill in Rome.

Hogarth and the Bishop of Gloucester and I discovered Dorla in 1890. I revisited it in 1901, 1904, 1905, and for several years later, as it is one of the richest sites in Lycaonia. Excavation is impossible as expropriation of the village would be needed and would be too expensive. The hill is thickly populated, and every house has its well, as I did not fail to observe, for my argument is founded on wells.

The site of the town Isaura is clearly indicated on the left (east) bank of the little stream on a plateau. There are plenty of traces there, but inscriptions are few, and there was a good deal of cultivation when I last visited the site in 1909. The town is called a *κώμη* by Strabo, and the houses were doubtless built largely of mud-bricks, which gradually, through the action of snow, frost, rain and sun, melt down into the soil. The close relation of Dorla to this plateau is shown by the fact that an inscription was found partly in the former, partly in the latter. It speaks of 'all who inhabit Isara,'¹ and is a conclusive proof that Isaura Nova was situated here.

Population gradually deserted the town on the plateau and gathered on the hill, which is more convenient for water-supply, and more pleasant in every way, as being more sheltered and also having such an abundant supply of building stones which once formed the great cemetery.

¹ Isara for Isavra, Isaura.

One correction in my article must be made. I spoke of the temple of the Magna Mater on the hill. There was doubtless a shrine or sacred enclosure, but subsequent study has shown me that the Anatolian peoples (Ashkenaz, *Cen.* x, v. 3) rarely, if ever, built a temple of the Greek type, until the Greek or even the Roman period began in any locality. It is also doubtful whether the short way from the town to the hill was lined with graves; that custom was Greek rather than Anatolian.

Sterrett, *W.E.* p. 150 f., has rightly argued that the captured town mentioned by Frontinus (iii, 7, 1) was not Isaura Palaia, but Isaura Nova. I need not repeat his reasons, which are conclusive to any geographer.

Sterrett, on the other hand, has placed Isaura Nova at Diñorna, about six miles N.E. of Dorla, on the strength of an inscription erected by Ἀννία Παῦλα to her infant son. This proves little, as Annia merely calls herself θυγάτηρ Φρόντωνος βουλευτοῦ Ἰσαύρων. Her father might be a senator of Isaura, after it attained the rank of a city; but the lady might have married and lived in a town (Corna?) a few miles distant. Moreover, there is no *wons* of the goddess, divided by a stream from the town, and in 1909 Miss Ramsay and I, with (as I understod) the full concurrence of Professor Calder, convinced ourselves that the turning aside of the two streams at Diñorna was impossible as a means of reducing the widely extended town.¹

The inscription, broken into two parts, mentioning Isara, found partly at Dorla² and partly on the actual site of the town Isaura on the opposite side of the stream, marks the deceased Zenobios as a native of the place. 'Just as Hylas was the most eminent of all heroes, so Zenobios excelled all the young men that inhabited well-fortified Isaura, but Phthanos laid him low in his youth.' There can be no reasonable doubt that this long eulogy (which once adorned the cemetery on the hill of the goddess, and the largest half of which is still on the Dorla hill) refers to a townsman who was buried in his youth near the goddess.

The form Isara for Isawra (usually Ἰσαυρα) shows the frequent Anatolian tendency towards the use of the spirant or digamma V or W, not graphically represented in Greek.

4. In Miss Ramsay's article just quoted, p. 45, no. 23, and fig. 23, there is an error of interpretation, for which I am responsible as editor of the book. The figure shows the true reading, as drawn

¹ There was great doubt whether Isaurica was a district (see Strabo) or two separate townships. Diñorna, the modern name of Korna, as I think I have argued in a study of Lycaonia, may well have been another Isaurican town.

² Published by Miss Ramsay in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 1906, p. 47.

by her. It is a very rude sepulchral epitaph at Kara Señir, two hours S.E. from Dorla, separated by a low ridge of hills.

εὐμύρι	ὀπφικάλ[η
Παπία	horseman οὐδὲς γάρ
καλὲ	ἀθλόντος

Papias was an *officialis*, and this is probably one of the earliest epigraphic references to such an official, a member of the *officium* of the governor. The second *i* of *officialis* is omitted, evidently because it was pronounced like *yod*, and could not be represented in the Greek alphabet. The salutations before and after the name and title were used by pagans, and were taken over by Christians, as Miss Ramsay has shown by quotations. The final letter of ὀπφικάλ[η was quite uncertain, being very rude; it might be H or N or even T, but its intention is clear. A good example of εὐμοίρει in this sense occurs at Salona in Dalmatia in *C.I.L.* III 14315, on a sarcophagus lid, a rare example of a Greek inscription admitted in *C.I.L.* (doubtless for the sake of completeness). + εὐμύρι Ἀγούστα · οὐδὲς ἀθλόντος^P. The υ of Αὐγ becomes the spirant and disappears in the spelling, as Ἰσαυρα becomes Ἰσαρα. On the left side of the sarcophagus cover is a much larger Ἀω^P, with two doves beneath A and Ω.

The date of the Kara-Señir inscription is probably after the province Lycaonia was formed in 372, but before 400, when purely Christian formulae were introduced and displaced any formula that had been employed by pagans. Probably Papias was in the *officium* of the governor of Lycaonia.

5. The following inscription is worth publishing if only for the sake of directing the attention of travellers and residents to a part of Konia that has been almost wholly neglected. The gardens of Meiram on the west and south-west of the city are practically unexamined since we lived there in 1901 and 1902. They are well-watered and well cultivated, and have summer residences for the wealthy; but they are difficult to enter on account of the restrictions of family life, a restriction now perhaps relaxed. Saba Diamantides¹ saw there a square stele or bomos, such as was often used in dedications and on graves. It was 80 cm. in height (which should attract attention).

It bore the inscription (possibly of a legatus, if much daring restoration be allowed):

ΚΟΥΤΙ	[Κέντος Ἀ-]
ΔΗΜΕ	κούτι[ος
ΓΙC TΩ	Δ[ι] με-
ΕΥΧΗΝ	γίστω
	εὐχὴν.

¹ Often mentioned as Dr. Diamantides. His name was Saba among the Greeks. Diamantides was an ornamental name assumed by him.

Saba, the doctor of the Vilayet, murdered by robbers after we left Konia in 1901, was almost the worst copyist who ever existed. He copied parts of inscriptions, and gave no indication whether it was the end or the beginning that he copied. He mixed up several inscriptions in one. He gave no indication in his notebook where they were found and some belong to distant villages, where I copied them long after his death ; but most are of Konia. Yet he did good service.

Q. Acutius Nerva was *cos. design.* in A.D. 100. He passed through the usual *cursus honorum*, and was *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* of Lower Germany ; but little is known of him. That he should have been either praetorian or consular *leg. Aug.* in Galatia is quite probable ; but is as yet a mere hypothesis. Visiting Iconium he might naturally make a dedication to Zeus the Greatest.

The stone may probably be found again, and more will be read on it than in the copy published by Sterrett, *E. J.* no. 209, from Diamantides's copy. I saw many of the latter's notebooks, but not the one containing this inscription.

6. Konia 1914. Found by Lady Ramsay and me in the court of a house on the south side of the hill of Ala-ed-din. The first line is cut away so that only half or less of each letter remains ; but all are practically certain except the fourth and second from the end, which might be T. or I. The rest is complete.

CLODIAE·IATP
INAE·VXORI·L·
COSSONI·GALLI
LEG·AVG·PR·PR·
EBVRENA·MA
XIMA·F·C·EBVRE

Clodiae Iatr
inae uxori L.
Cossoni Galli
leg. Aug. pr. pr.
Eburena Ma-
xima f(ilia) C. Ebure-
[ni Maximi ?]

The stone either stood on another stone or has been cut by a modern mason. The family of the Ebureni is well known at Konia ; see Sterrett, *E. J.* no. 246 from Dr. Saba Diamantides ; copied also by me in 1901 ; it should be read :

KOINTOC
BOYPHNOCM
ΑΣΙΜΟC
ΝΕΜΕCΕΙC
ΠΗΚΟΩ

Κόιντος 'Ε-
βουρηνός Μ-
άξιμος
Νεμέσει ἐ-
πηκόω

The full and very long name of this governor of Galatia (except praenomen and nomen) is given in an inscription Sterrett, *W. E.*

¹ The text is given differently in *B.C.H.* 1899, p. 593 ; but not from the writer's copy, only from that of Saba Diamantides.

no. 365 (recopied by me in 1886 and 1912) with his *cursus honorum* as far as his government of Galatia Pisidia and Paphlagonia. His career began under Domitian. He was legatus of *leg. Traiana Fortis* before 109, and his government of Galatia is likely to have been about the end of Trajan's reign or the beginning of Hadrian's. *C.I.L.* III, 6813. He is given in *P.I.R.* under Gallus, as his *nomen* was unknown.

The name Iatrina is uncertain, but I think I have seen it used in a Galatian inscription. Pape-Benseler do not know it.